



WILLIAM
LLOYD
GARRISON



Preface by
Leo
Tolstoy





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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

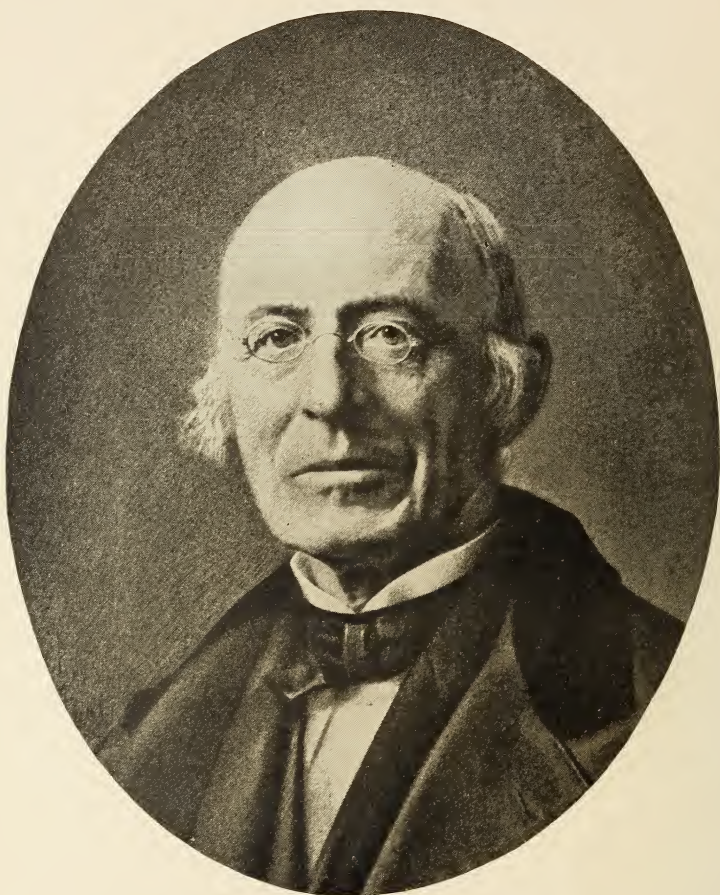
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Wm. Lloyd Garrison
1874.

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A Short
Biography of

William Lloyd Garrison

By V. TCHERTKOFF AND F. HOLAH.

William Lloyd Garrison

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY APPRECIATION OF
HIS LIFE AND WORK

By
Leo Tolstoy

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INTRODUCTION.

BY LEO TOLSTOY.

(*Letter to V. Tchernkoff.*)

I thank you very much for sending me your biography of Garrison.

Reading it, I lived again through the spring of my awakening to true life. While reading Garrison's speeches and articles I vividly recalled to mind the spiritual joy which I experienced twenty years ago, when I found out that the law of non-resistance—to which I had been inevitably brought by the recognition of the Christian teaching in its full meaning, and which revealed to me the great joyous ideal to be realised in Christian life—was even as far back as the forties not only recognised and proclaimed by Garrison (about Ballou I learnt later), but also placed by him at the foundation of his practical activity in the emancipation of the slaves.

My joy was at that time mingled with bewilderment as to how it was that this great Gospel truth, fifty years ago explained by Garrison, could have been so hushed up that I had now to express it as something new.

My bewilderment was especially increased by the circumstance that not only people antagonistic to the progress of mankind, but also the most advanced and progressive men, were either completely indifferent to this law, or

actually opposed to the promulgation of that which lies at the foundation of all true progress.

But as time went on it became clearer and clearer to me that the general indifference and opposition which were then expressed, and still continue to be expressed—pre-eminently amongst political workers—towards this law of non-resistance are merely symptoms of the great significance of this law.

“The motto upon our banner,” wrote Garrison in the midst of his activity, “has been from the commencement of our moral warfare ‘OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD ; OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.’ We trust that it will be our only epitaph. Another motto we have chosen is, ‘UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.’ Up to this time we have limited its application to those who in this country are held by Southern taskmasters as marketable commodities, goods and chattels, and implements of husbandry. Henceforth we shall use it in its widest latitude—the emancipation of our whole race from the dominion of man, from the thralldom of self, from the government of brute force, from the bondage of sin, and the bringing it under the dominion of God, the control of an inward spirit, the government of the law of love. . . .”

Garrison, as a man enlightened by the Christian teaching, having begun with the practical aim of strife against slavery, very soon understood that the cause of slavery was not the casual temporary seizure by the Southerners of a few millions of negroes, but the ancient and universal recognition, contrary to the

Christian teaching, of the right of coercion on the part of certain people in regard to certain others. A pretext for recognising this right has always been that men regarded it as possible to eradicate or diminish evil by brute force, *i.e.*, also by evil. Having once realised this fallacy, Garrison put forward against slavery neither the suffering of slaves, nor the cruelty of slaveholders, nor the social equality of men, but the eternal Christian law of refraining from opposing evil by violence, *i.e.*, of "non-resistance." Garrison understood that which the most advanced among the fighters against slavery did not understand : that the only irrefutable argument against slavery is the denial of the right of any man over the liberty of another under any conditions whatsoever.

The Abolitionists endeavoured to prove that slavery was unlawful, disadvantageous, cruel : that it depraved men, and so on ; but the defenders of slavery in their turn proved the untimeliness and danger of emancipation, and the evil results liable to follow it. Neither the one nor the other could convince his opponent. Whereas Garrison, understanding that the slavery of the negroes was only a particular instance of universal coercion, put forward a general principle with which it was impossible not to agree—the principle that under no pretext has any man the right to dominate, *i.e.*, to use coercion over his fellows. Garrison did not so much insist on the right of negroes to be free as he denied the right of any man whatsoever, or of any body of men, forcibly to coerce another man in any way. For the purpose of

combating slavery he advanced the principle of struggle against all the evil of the world.

This principle advanced by Garrison was irrefutable, but it affected and even overthrew all the foundations of established social order, and therefore those who valued their position in that existing order were frightened at its announcement, and still more at its application to life ; they endeavoured to ignore it, to elude it ; they hoped to attain their object without the declaration of the principle of non-resistance to evil by violence, and that application of it to life which would destroy, as they thought, all orderly organisation of human life. The result of this evasion of the recognition of the unlawfulness of coercion was that fratricidal war which, having externally solved the slavery question, introduced into the life of the American people the new—perhaps still greater—evil of that corruption which accompanies every war.

Meanwhile the substance of the question remained unsolved, and the same problem, only in a new form, now stands before the people of the United States. Formerly the question was how to free the negroes from the violence of the slaveholders ; now the question is how to free the negroes from the violence of all the whites, and the whites from the violence of all the blacks.

The solution of this problem in a new form is to be accomplished certainly not by the lynching of the negroes, nor by any skilful and liberal measures of American politicians, but only by the application to life of that same principle

which was proclaimed by Garrison half a century ago.

The other day in one of the most progressive periodicals I read the opinion of an educated and intelligent writer, expressed with complete assurance in its correctness, that the recognition by me of the principle of non-resistance to evil by violence is a lamentable and somewhat comic delusion which, taking into consideration my old age and certain merits, can only be passed over in indulgent silence.

Exactly the same attitude towards this question did I encounter in my conversation with the remarkably intelligent and progressive American Bryan. He also, with the evident intention of gently and courteously showing me my delusion, asked me how I explained my strange principle of non-resistance to evil by violence, and as usual he brought forward the argument, which seems to everyone irrefutable, of the brigand who kills or violates a child. I told him that I recognise non-resistance to evil by violence because, having lived seventy-five years, I have never, except in discussions, encountered that fantastic brigand, who, before my eyes desired to kill or violate a child, but that perpetually I did and do see not one but millions of brigands using violence towards children and women and men and old people and all the labourers in the name of the recognised right of violence over one's fellows. When I said this my kind interlocutor, with his naturally quick perception, not giving me time to finish, laughed, and recognised that my argument was satisfactory.

No one has seen the fantastic brigand, but the world, groaning under violence, lies before everyone's eyes. Yet no one sees, nor desires to see, that the strife which can liberate man from violence is not a strife with the fantastic brigand, but with those actual brigands who practise violence over men.

Non-resistance to evil by violence really means only that the mutual interaction of rational beings upon each other should consist not in violence (which can be only admitted in relation to lower organisms deprived of reason) but in rational persuasion; and that, consequently, towards this substitution of rational persuasion for coercion all those should strive who desire to further the welfare of mankind.

It would seem quite clear that in the course of the last century, fourteen million people were killed, and that now the labour and lives of millions of men are spent on wars necessary to no one, and that all the land is in the hands of those who do not work on it, and that all the produce of human labour is swallowed up by those who do not work, and that all the deceits which reign in the world exist only because violence is allowed for the purpose of suppressing that which appears evil to some people, and that therefore one should endeavour to replace violence by persuasion. That this may become possible it is necessary first of all to renounce the right of coercion.)

Strange to say, the most progressive people of our circle regard it as dangerous to repudiate the right of violence and to endeavour to replace it by persuasion. These people, having

decided that it is impossible to persuade a brigand not to kill a child, think it also impossible to persuade the working men not to take the land and the produce of their labour from those who do not work, and therefore these people find it necessary to coerce the labourers.

So that however sad it is to say so, the only explanation of the non-understanding of the significance of the principle of non-resistance to evil by violence consists in this, that the conditions of human life are so distorted that those who examine the principle of non-resistance imagine that its adaptation to life and the substitution of persuasion for coercion would destroy all possibility of that social organisation and of those conveniences of life which they enjoy.

But the change need not be feared ; the principle of non-resistance is not a principle of coercion but of concord and love, and therefore it cannot be made coercively binding upon men. The principle of non-resistance to evil by violence, which consists in the substitution of persuasion for brute force, can be only accepted voluntarily, and in whatever measure it is freely accepted by men and applied to life—*i.e.*, according to the measure in which people renounce violence and establish their relations upon rational persuasion—only in that measure is true progress in the life of men accomplished.

Therefore, whether men desire it or not, it is only in the name of this principle that they can free themselves from the enslavement and oppression of each other. Whether men desire

it or not, this principle lies at the basis of all true improvement in the life of men which has taken place and is still to take place.

Garrison was the first to proclaim this principle as a rule for the organisation of the life of men. In this is his great merit. If at the time he did not attain the pacific liberation of the slaves in America, he indicated the way of liberating men in general from the power of brute force.

Therefore Garrison will for ever remain one of the greatest reformers and promoters of true human progress.

I think that the publication of this short biography will be useful to many.

Yasnaya Polyana, January, 1904.

COMPILERS' PREFACE.

Were it possible to conceive of any cause justifying the use of violence, surely the abolition of slavery, as it existed in America seventy years ago, would constitute such a cause. When, therefore, we find the greatest champion of emancipation adhering, throughout life to non-resistance principles of the most comprehensive kind—and that, in the face of imprisonment, mob violence and almost certain death, we feel that the life and thoughts of such a man must necessarily be of interest to all friends of Peace.

Under this impression we propose, for the benefit of such as are debarred a more extensive study of his character and work, to give a brief outline of the life and views of William Lloyd Garrison, the champion of Liberty and lover of mankind.

Any who may find their appetite stimulated rather than satisfied by the perusal of these pages are referred to "The Life and Times of William Lloyd Garrison," by his children, who have generously allowed us to quote from it without restriction—a permission of which, as the reader will see, we have amply availed ourselves.*

The original biography is, in our opinion, one of the greatest works of the kind,

* All portions of our work included in quotation marks represent extracts from the book as published by Messrs. Fisher Unwin.

and chronicles, perhaps, the most important epoch in the history of the American nation.

Consisting as it does of four large volumes, furnished with numerous portraits, not of Garrison only, but also of many of the remarkable public men and women of his time—the publication is necessarily expensive. Those who may not have the means of purchasing it, would do well in requesting the public libraries in their neighbourhood to procure it.

In reference to the present little compilation, we can only regret that the desire to render it accessible to as large a circle of readers as possible has prevented our giving a more detailed account of one of the finest lives ever lived amongst men.

Should the necessity of a new short life of Garrison be questioned, seeing that so many already exist—we need only mention that the peculiarity of our compilation lies in the fact that it has been prepared by persons in unreserved accord with Garrison's non-resistance principles, which have consequently here received the full emphasis they deserve and he himself laid upon them.

VLADIMIR TCHERTKOFF and FLORENCE HOLAH.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

CHAPTER I

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON was born in 1805, at Newburyport, Massachusetts. To this town his father, Abijah Garrison, a sailor by profession, had but recently migrated from Nova Scotia, where his family, of English origin and Puritan principles, had been for some time settled. With him came Frances Lloyd, his wife, daughter of an Irish emigrant to the Province of Nova Scotia. Brought up in the beliefs of the Episcopal Church, she had early incurred the displeasure of her family by joining the despised sect of Baptists. Persecution, taking the form of banishment from her father's house, served only to strengthen her convictions; and her younger son, who seems to have inherited his mother's religious disposition, for many years showed a marked preference for her peculiar faith.

This second son, William Lloyd, was scarcely three years old when Abijah Garrison, although professing great affection for his wife and children, deserted them and returned to his native province.

The young wife thus left alone to support her three children, made a brave effort to bring them up well; but the necessity of earning a liveli-

hood separated her for long periods from her family, and when Lloyd was about ten years old, she was obliged, finally, to leave Newburyport and settle at Baltimore.

For seven years circumstances kept mother and son apart, until in 1823 Lloyd paid his mother a final visit, only a few weeks before her death. Notwithstanding this long separation, Fanny Garrison exercised considerable influence over her younger son, who ever preserved a warm and grateful remembrance of her.

(The elder son, strongly attracted to his father's profession, had run away to sea ; and the only daughter died some months before her bereaved mother.)

Thus, practically left an orphan while still a boy, William Lloyd was early thrown upon his own resources. After trying his hand at several occupations, he was finally apprenticed, at the age of thirteen, to the printing trade, entering the office of the *Newburyport Herald*, at the same time finding a home in the house of his master, the editor. Not only did he speedily win the love and esteem of all the inmates of his new home, but he soon became a most expert and rapid compositor. The extent to which he became master of his trade is evidenced by the fact that in later life many of his editorial articles were set up in type by himself without being previously committed to paper.

During his apprenticeship in the *Herald* office, Garrison wrote his first newspaper article, sending it anonymously to the editor, and having the pleasure of himself setting it up in type. The success of his first attempt encouraged him to further efforts, and he became a frequent contributor, taking up the current political topics of the day with characteristic ardour.

Before the term of his apprenticeship expired he was entrusted with the entire supervision of the printing office, and at times, during his master's absence, with the editorial management of the paper also. The experience thus gained was turned to good account, and within a few months of the expiration of his apprenticeship, in 1826, we find him editing and publishing a local newspaper, entitled *The Free Press*.

The branch of moral reform which first engaged Garrison's serious attention was the temperance cause. To this he devoted himself with energy and enthusiasm, and never to the day of his death did he cease to take a keen interest in the promotion of temperance. Even when engaged heart and soul in the great work of his life—the abolition of slavery, he said :

“ God is my witness that, great as is my detestation of slavery and the foreign slave trade, I had rather be a slave-holder—yea, a kidnapper on the African coast—than sell this poison to my fellow creatures for common consumption. Since the creation of the world there has been no tyrant like intemperance, and no slaves so cruelly treated as his ” (vol. i., p. 268).

After about six months the editorship of *The Free Press* was abandoned, and Garrison betook himself to Boston in search of employment. This change of locality brought him into contact with W. Collier, a Baptist city missionary, who had recently established the first periodical ever devoted mainly to the cause of temperance. This paper, *The National Philanthropist*, soon passed into Garrison's hands. Although it had for its chief object the promotion of temperance, and took for its motto—“ Moderate drinking is the downhill road to intemperance and drunkenness,” the *Philanthropist* also discussed such subjects as

lotteries, imprisonment for debt, peace, the desecration of the Sabbath by Sunday mails, and travelling and infidelity. This latter subject excited the greatest abhorrence in the mind of the orthodox editor.

"It is impossible," he said, "to estimate the depravity and wickedness of those who at the present day reject the Gospel of Jesus Christ, when the proofs of its Divine origin have been accumulating for eighteen centuries, till the mass of evidence exceeds computation—when its blessed influence is penetrating the lands where thick darkness dwells, conquering the prejudices and customs and opinions of the people—and when it has acquired a grandeur of aspect and breadth of expansion, a vividness of glory and an increase of moral strength which stamps upon it the impress of Divinity in such legible characters that to doubt is impiety—to reject, the madness of folly" (vol. i. p. 84).

Garrison's veneration for the Scriptures and also for the Sabbath is interesting in connection with his future mental and spiritual development. Already he had to admit the astonishing indifference of professing Christians to the subject of war.

"They have been guilty," he declared, "of a neglect which no discouragement, no excuse, no inadequacy can justify. Why is it," he asked, "that by far the larger portion of the professed followers of the Lamb have maintained a careless, passive neutrality? . . . There are, in fact, few *reasoning* Christians; the majority of them are swayed more by the usages of the world than by any definite perception of what constitutes duty—so far, we mean, as relates to the subjugation of vices which are incorporated, as it were, into the existence of society; else why is it that intemperance and slavery and war have not ere

this in a measure been driven from our land ? Is there not Christian influence enough here, if properly concentrated, to accomplish these things ? Scepticism itself cannot be at a loss to answer this question " (vol. i., pp. 84, 85).

Hitherto the cause of emancipation, soon to absorb so large a part of Garrison's life, had drawn from him but few expressions of interest. *The Free Press* had, it is true, contained some commendatory remarks on a poem entitled " Africa," an impassioned appeal on behalf of the slave ; and in an article on the Fourth of July we find the following words :—

" There is one theme which should be dwelt upon till our whole country is free from the curse—it is slavery " (vol. i., p. 66); and again in the second number of the *Philanthropist*, edited by Garrison, he had commented on the passage of a bill by South Carolina to prohibit the instruction of negroes. " There is," he declared, " something unspeakably pitiable and alarming in the state of that society where it is deemed necessary, for self-preservation, to seal up the mind and debase the intellect of man to brutal incapacity. We shall not now consider the policy of this resolve, but it illustrates the terrors of slavery in a manner as eloquent and affecting as imagination can conceive. . . . Truly, the alternatives of oppression are terrible. But this state of things cannot always last, nor ignorance alone shield us from destruction " (vol. i., pp. 86, 87).

But it was not until March, 1828, that a meeting occurred which led to the final dedication of his life to the cause of the slave.

Benjamin Lundy, a Quaker from New Jersey, had already devoted thirteen years to this great cause. During a four years' residence in Virginia his soul was so stirred by his being constantly

compelled to witness the horrors of the slave trade that he organised an anti-slavery society, called the "Union Humane Society," and wrote an appeal urging the formation of similar societies throughout the land.

The first American periodical having for its avowed object the suppression of slavery had been established in 1820 by a friend named Elihu Embree, and on Embree's death in 1821, Lundy continued his work by the publication of a similar paper entitled *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*. Not only did he learn the printers' trade that he might be able to print this—the only anti-slavery journal in the country—with his own hands, but he also took long journeys, often on foot, everywhere endeavouring to awaken men's minds to a conviction of the enormity of the slave system.

One of these journeys brought him to Boston, where he met Garrison, who wrote of him in the following glowing terms :—

"Every inch of him is alive with power. . . . No reformer was ever more devoted, zealous, persevering or sanguine. He has fought single handed against a host, without missing a blow or faltering a moment ; but his forces are rapidly gathering, and he will yet free our land. . . . Within a few months he has travelled about twenty-four hundred miles, of which upwards of sixteen hundred were performed *on foot* !—during which time he has held nearly fifty public meetings. Rivers and mountains vanish in his path ; midnight finds him wending his solitary way over an unfrequented road ; the sun is anticipated in his rising. Never was moral sublimity of character better illustrated" (vol. i., pp. 92, 93).

Of a meeting of Boston clergymen, convened by Lundy Garrison wrote eleven years later, as follows :—

“ He might as well have urged the stones in the streets to cry out in behalf of the perishing captives. Oh, the moral cowardice, the chilling apathy, the criminal unbelief, the cruel scepticism that were revealed on that occasion ! My soul was on fire then, as it is now, in view of such a development. Every soul in the room was heartily opposed to slavery ; but it would terribly alarm and enrage the South to know that an anti-slavery society existed in Boston ! But it would do harm rather than good openly to agitate the subject ! But we had nothing to do with the question, and the less we meddled with it the better. But *perhaps* a *select* committee might be formed, to be called by some name that would neither give offence, nor excite suspicion as to its real design ! One or two only were for bold and decisive action ; but, as they had neither station nor influence, and did not rank among the wise and prudent, their opinions did not weigh very heavily, and the project was abandoned. Poor Lundy ! that meeting was a damper to his feelings ; but he was not a man to be utterly cast down, come what might. No one at the outset had bid him ‘ God-speed ’ in his merciful endeavour to deliver his enslaved countrymen ; and he was inflexible to persevere even unto the end, though unassisted by any of those whose countenance he had a right to expect ” (vol. i., pp. 93, 94).

Lundy’s visit to Boston was, however, not without result. The cause of the down-trodden slave had now taken such a hold upon the heart of the young editor of the *Philanthropist* that it was henceforth to be the chief interest of his life,—not, however, to the exclusion of other branches of reform—intemperance and war still claiming a large share of his attention.

In July, 1828, Garrison resigned the editorship

of the *Philanthropist*, and in the autumn of the same year was offered a six months' engagement as editor of a new political journal at Bennington, Vermont, to be entitled *The Journal of the Times*. This offer was accepted on condition that the editor should be at liberty to discuss, in addition to politics, various topics, such as morals, education, temperance, slavery, etc.

The spirit in which this work was undertaken may be gathered from the following extract from Garrison's Salutory :—

" . . . Of all the despicable and degraded beings, a time serving, truckling editor has no parallel ; and he who has not courage enough to hunt down popular vices, to combat popular prejudices, to encounter the madness of party, to tell the truth and maintain the truth, cost what it may, to attack villainy in its higher walks and strip presumption of its vulgar garb, to meet the frowns of the enemy with the smiles of a friend, and the hazard of independence with the hope of reward, should be crushed at a blow if he dared to tamper with the interests or speculate upon the whims of the public " (vol. i., p. 103).

The subject of slavery was at once enthusiastically taken up in *The Journal of the Times*. In the first number the editor spoke of the " importance of petitioning Congress this session in conjunction with our Southern brethren for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia." He also suggested the formation of anti-slavery societies in all the important towns in the twelve Free States. Owing largely to Garrison's personal activity, a petition drawn up by himself and bearing 2,352 signatures was presented to Congress. The question of emancipation was warmly discussed by some of the northern representatives, and resolutions were passed that a committee should inquire

into the subject ; but owing to the determined opposition of the South the matter was soon dropped, and Congress passed no more resolutions in favour of freedom in the District until after the secession of the South.

On the expiration of his six months' engagement (in the spring of 1829), Garrison accepted a pressing invitation from Lundy to join him in the management of *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, which he proposed to enlarge and publish weekly instead of monthly.

During a short stay in Boston, on his way to join Lundy, Garrison was invited to deliver a Fourth of July address at Park Street Church, in the interests of the Colonisation Society.

An unsuccessful attempt to prevent the delivery of this lecture by procuring a writ summoning the lecturer to appear at the police court, to account for his refusal to pay a fine for not appearing at a muster of the Militia Company, led to the following declaration of principles. It is especially interesting as showing the very decided non-resistant attitude taken by Garrison even at this early date.

" I am not professedly a Quaker," he wrote, " but I heartily, entirely and practically embrace the doctrine of non-resistance, and am conscientiously opposed to all military exhibitions. I now solemnly declare that I will never obey any order to bear arms, but rather cheerfully suffer imprisonment and persecution. What is the design of militia musters ? *To make men skilful murderers.* I cannot consent to become a pupil in this sanguinary school " (vol. i., p. 125 note).

With the help of a friend the lecturer was eventually able to pay the fine, and so free himself to deliver the Fourth of July oration.

After touching on such " national dangers " as infidelity, Sabbath breaking, intemperance and

the corruption of the Press and party politics, the speaker took up the subject of slavery. Having graphically sketched the proceedings of a recent trial, he continued :—

“ I stand up here in a more solemn court, to assist in a far greater cause ; not to impeach the character of one man, but of a whole people ; not to recover the sum of a hundred thousand dollars, but to obtain the liberation of two millions of wretched, degraded beings, who are pining in hopeless bondage—over whose sufferings scarcely an eye weeps, or a heart melts, or a tongue pleads either to God or man. I regret that a better advocate has not been found to enchain your attention and to warm your blood. Whatever fallacy, however, may appear in the argument, there is no flaw in the indictment ; what the speaker lacks the cause will supply ” (vol. i., p. 129).

And again : “ Every Fourth of July, our Declaration of Independence is produced, with a sublime indignation, to set forth the tyranny of the Mother Country and to challenge the admiration of the world. But what a pitiful detail of grievances does this document present in comparison with the wrongs which our slaves endure ! In the one case, it is hardly the plucking of a hair from the head ; in the other, it is the crushing of a live body on the wheel—the stings of the wasp contrasted with the tortures of the Inquisition. Before God I must say that such a glaring contradiction as exists between our creed and practice the annals of six thousand years cannot parallel. In view of it, I am ashamed of my country. I am sick of our unmeaning declaration in praise of liberty and equality ; of our hypocritical cant about the unalienable rights of man. I could not for my right hand stand up before a European assembly and exult that I am an American citizen, and de-

nounce the usurpations of a kingly government as wicked and unjust ; or, should I make the attempt, the recollection of my country's barbarity and despotism would blister my lips and cover my cheeks with burning blushes of shame

" If any man believes that slavery can be abolished without a struggle with the worst passions of human nature, quietly, harmoniously, he cherishes a delusion. It can never be done unless the age of miracles return. No ; we must expect a collision, full of sharp asperities and bitterness. We shall have to contend with the insolence and pride and selfishness of many a heartless being. But these can be easily conquered by meekness and perseverance and prayer.

" Sirs, the prejudices of the North are stronger than those of the South ;—they bristle like so many bayonets around the slaves ;—they forge and rivet the chains of the nation. Conquer them and the victory is won. The enemies of emancipation take courage from our criminal timidity. They have justly stigmatised us even on the floor of Congress, with the most contemptuous epithets. We are (they say) their ' white slaves,' afraid of our own shadows, who have been driven back to the wall again and again ; who stand trembling under their whips ; who turn pale, retreat and surrender, at a talismanic threat to dissolve the Union.

" It is often despondingly said that the evil of slavery is beyond our control. Dreadful conclusion, that puts the seal of death upon our country's existence ! . . . Let us take courage . Moral influence, when in vigorous exercise, is irresistible. It has an immortal essence. It can no more be trod out of existence by the iron foot of time, or by the ponderous march of iniquity, than matter can be annihilated. It may disappear for a time ; but it lives in some shape or other, in some place or

other, and will rise with renovated strength. Let us then be up and doing. In the simple and stirring language of the stout-hearted Lundy, 'all the friends of the cause must go to work, keep to work, hold on, and never give up'" (vol. i., pp. 131, 132, 134, 135).

The oration concluded with an impassioned appeal to all sections of the community, including the clergy.

"I call upon the Churches of the living God to lead in this great enterprise. If the soul be immortal, priceless, save it from remediless woe. Let them combine their energies, and systematise their plans, for the rescue of suffering humanity. Let them pour out their supplications to Heaven in behalf of the slave. Prayer is omnipotent: its breath can melt adamant rocks—its touch can break the stoutest chains. Let anti-slavery charity-boxes stand uppermost among those for missionary, tract and educational purposes. On this subject Christians have been asleep; let them shake off their slumbers, and arm for the holy contest" (vol. i., p. 136).

Experience had not yet taught the youthful reformer the uselessness of appealing to the Churches. He had yet to learn that "Ministers of the Gospel" are among the most powerful opponents of the sacred cause of liberty.

On two points raised in this address, Garrison's views were destined soon to be completely changed: the usefulness and sincerity of the Colonisation Society—a Society having for its aim the deportation of all liberated negroes and their settlement in Liberia,—and the desirability of *immediate* emancipation. On the Fourth of July, Garrison had said:—

"I acknowledge that immediate and complete emancipation is not desirable. No rational man

cherishes so wild a dream." " But, when he came to reflect upon the matter, he saw that his feet were on the sand and not on the solid rock so long as he granted slavery the right to exist for a single moment ; that if human beings could be justly held in bondage one hour, they could be for days and weeks and years, and so on indefinitely from generation to generation, and that the only way to deal with the system was to lay the axe at the root of the tree, and demand immediate and unconditional emancipation " (vol. i., p. 140). *

Having come to this conclusion, he was under the necessity of informing his proposed partner, Lundy, of his change of views. The latter, although still holding that the slaves were not ready for immediate and unconditional liberty, readily agreed to carry out their original plan of joint editorship, on the condition that each should sign his own articles, and " bear his own burden." It was arranged that Garrison should act as resident editor, while Lundy went forth to lecture and canvas for subscribers. On these terms they started their joint venture in September, 1829.

Benjamin Lundy, although he took no interest in the settlement of Liberia, and distrusted somewhat the Colonisation Society, was strongly in favour of establishing colonies of free coloured people in Hayti, Canada, etc.

He, himself, paid several visits to Hayti, and published, in the *Genius*, the results of his observation of the country, and discussed the prospects of success.

Garrison felt a growing distrust of the Colonisation Society, coming by degrees to realise that it

* Note. Elizabeth Heyrick, an Englishwoman, was the first to advocate in a pamphlet published in 1825, immediate emancipation.

was, in fact, a tool in the hands of the Slave Power, by which they sought to get rid of the dreaded free coloured population, while figuring before the world as benefactors of the negro.

He was also opposed to any compensation of slave-holders. In reply to the inquiry of a colonisationist—"Who can doubt that it might be the soundest policy to extinguish the masters' claim throughout our territory at the price of six hundred millions of dollars?" he said:—

"We unhesitatingly doubt it, in a moral point of view. It would be paying a thief for giving up stolen property, and acknowledging that his crime was not a crime. . . . No; let us not talk of *buying* the slaves—justice *demand*s their liberation." To the same writer, who had spoken of the "delicate subject" of slavery, he replied:—

"In correcting public vices and aggravated crimes, delicacy is not to be consulted. Slavery is a monster, and he must be treated as such—hunted down bravely, and despatched at a blow" (vol. i., pp. 151, 152).

A "Free Produce Society," established by Friends for the purpose of discouraging slave labour called for favourable comment in the *Genius*. This movement did not, however, make much way in America—less, indeed, than in England, where 300,000 persons are said to have abandoned the use of sugar, rather than enjoy the fruits of slave labour.

In answer to those who declared that the slaves, if freed, would cut the throats of their late oppressors, Garrison said:—

"Is it worth while to reason with such men? Need they be told that if fire be quenched, it cannot burn—if the fangs of the rattlesnake be drawn, he cannot be dangerous—if seed be annihilated, it cannot germinate? . . . If we liberate the slaves,

and treat them as brothers, and as men, shall we not take away all motive for rebellion?" (vol. i., p. 158). The result of the immediate emancipation of 10,000 slaves by the Mexican President Guerrero bore out the truth of these remarks.

A department of *The Genius*, termed the Black List, recorded every week, incidents of cruelty connected with the slave trade, domestic and foreign. Although now forbidden by law, the foreign trade was still actively carried on; while the home trade, less dangerous and more profitable, was prosecuted to an appalling extent. Some of the Southern states had, indeed, the more readily consented to the bill declaring the foreign trade illegal, because they foresaw the increased gain thus to be obtained by *breeding* slaves for the market—to replace the countless victims of cruelty, hardship and the deadly climate of the Gulf states. As many as 50,000 slaves were yearly transported from one state to another. Much of this human freight was shipped from Baltimore, and Garrison was thus constantly compelled to witness the horrible sufferings inflicted on these his fellow creatures.

When, at length, he discovered that one of his own townsmen—a citizen of Newburyport—was engaged in this inhuman traffic, his indignation blazed forth, and the shipowner, Francis Todd, was held up to public execration in the Black List. After briefly stating the facts of the case, the editor pointed out the inconsistency of allowing the home trade, while the foreign trade was regarded as illegal:—

"I know," he said, "that the man who is allowed to freight his vessel with slaves at home for a distant market, would be thought worthy of death, if he should take a similar freight on the coast of Africa; but I know, too, that this distinction is

absurd, and at war with the common sense of mankind, and that God and good men regard it with abhorrence " (vol. i., p. 166).

This direct attack upon " New England principle " was not allowed to pass unnoticed—an action for libel was promptly instituted. Although ably and eloquently defended by Charles Mitchell, one of the most brilliant members of the Boston Bar—who, although a stranger to Garrison, offered his services gratuitously for the defence—Garrison was found guilty, and fined fifty dollars and costs. Being wholly unable to raise so large a sum (over 100 dollars), he was compelled to submit to seven weeks imprisonment in Baltimore jail.

Not even in prison was Garrison inactive. His sympathy which—to use an expression of his own when speaking of Christian charity—was " restricted only by the exact number of God's suffering creatures " (vol. i., p. 130), was, at once, drawn out by the partners of his captivity. Being allowed a certain amount of liberty within the jail, he made the acquaintance of many of these unfortunates, inquired into their cases and, in more than one instance, was successful in procuring their release. He was also still able to plead the cause of the slave, sometimes with the very owners and traders themselves, who frequently visited the jail to reclaim, or to buy runaway slaves,—and very faithfully he dealt with such men.

The first task to which Garrison addressed himself during his imprisonment was, however, the writing of a pamphlet entitled " A brief sketch of the trial of William Lloyd Garrison, for an alleged libel on Francis Todd, of Massachusetts." The concluding words of this pamphlet are especially worthy of notice :—

" As for the law (if it be law) which has convicted me, I regard it as a burlesque upon the

constitution—as pitiful as it is abhorrent and atrocious. It affords a fresh illustration of the sentiment of an able writer, that of all injustice, that is the greatest which goes under the name of law ; and of all sorts of tyranny, the forcing of the letter of the law against the equity is the most insupportable. Is it supposed by Judge Brice that his frowns can intimidate me, or his sentence stifle my voice, on the subject of African oppression ? He does not know me. So long as a good Providence gives me strength and intellect, I will not cease to declare that the existence of slavery in this country is a foul reproach to the American name ; nor will I hesitate to proclaim the guilt of kidnappers, slave abettors, or slave-owners, where-soever they may reside, or however high they may be exalted. I am only in the alphabet of my task ; time shall perfect a useful work. . . . A few white victims must be sacrificed to open the eyes of this nation, and to show the tyranny of our laws. I expect, and am willing to be persecuted, imprisoned and bound, for advocating African rights ; and I should deserve to be a slave myself, if I shrank from that duty or danger ” (vol. i., pp. 177, 178).

This period of enforced leisure also furnished an opportunity for indulging in his favourite occupation of writing verses. Three sonnets—on “ Sleep,” “ Freedom of the Mind,” and “ The Guiltless Prisoner,” bear witness to the lightness of heart with which the captive bore his captivity.

The imprisonment of the editor of *The Genius* excited widespread interest, not only among the advocates of emancipation, but also among those interested in the freedom of speech and of the press ; more than 100 newspaper editors denounced this attempt to interfere with their much cherished liberty. To one editor, Garrison’s old master, Mr. Allen, of Newburyport, who, while

defending the character and motives of his former apprentice, pleaded for the guilty trader, Garrison replied at some length. We must, however, content ourselves with two brief extracts :—

“ Moreover what if the times were hard, freights dull and money scarce—was he (Francis Todd) in danger of starvation? And, if so, how much nobler would have been his conduct, if he had adopted the language of the martyred patriot of England—the great Algernon Sidney!—‘ I have ever had in my mind, that when God should cast me into such a condition as that I cannot save my life but by doing an indecent thing, He shows me the time has come wherein I should resign it; and when I cannot live in my own country but by such means as are worse than dying in it, I think He shows me I ought to keep myself out of it ’ ” (vol. i., p. 187).

“ Everyone who comes into the world should do something to repair its moral desolation, and to restore its pristine loveliness; and he who does not assist, but slumbers away his life in idleness, defeats one great purpose of his creation ” (vol. i., pp. 188, 189).

Garrison's pamphlet concerning the trial gained for the writer more than one friend whose pecuniary aid proved of great value, both now and at a later period. Arthur Tappan wrote, offering 100 dollars to purchase the prisoner's liberty, and another 100 dollars to help in re-establishing *The Genius*, which after a six months' trial in its enlarged form, had now resumed its former dimensions,—the partnership of Lundy and Garrison being dissolved. A gift of 100 dollars from E. Dole, another stranger, also came very opportunely, as the released prisoner was without home or means of livelihood.

CHAPTER II

FINDING that it would be useless to attempt a renewal of the partnership with Lundy, Garrison now decided to start a paper of his own. Accordingly, in August, 1830, he set forth in a prospectus "Proposals for publishing a weekly periodical in Washington City, to be entitled *The Public Liberator and Journal of the Times*." The primary object of the publication was to be the abolition of slavery, but other moral and social evils were not to be overlooked. "The cause of peace and the promotion of temperance," he wrote, "being equally dear to my heart, will obtain my zealous and unequivocal support. My creed, as already published to the world, is as follows:—That war is fruitful in crime, misery, revenge, murder and everything abominable and bloody—and, whether offensive or defensive, contrary to the precepts and example of Jesus Christ, and to the heavenly spirit of the Gospel; consequently, that no professor of Christianity should march to the battlefield or murder any of his brethren for the glory of his country*:—That intemperance is a filthy

* In this connection we may note that Garrison "had scruples over and above the prior claims of the slaves, against publishing an appeal to raise money in aid of the revolted Poles. Ours is the patriotism of Jesus Christ, not of this world. We justify no war. The victories of liberty should be bloodless and effected solely by spiritual weapons. If we deemed it pleasing in the sight of God to kill tyrants we would immediately put ourselves at the head of a black army at the South, and scatter devastation and death on every side" (vol. i., p. 269).

habit and an awful scourge, wholly produced by the moderate, occasional and fashionable use of alcoholic liquors ; consequently, that it is sinful to distil, import, to sell, to drink or to offer such liquors to our friends or labourers, and that entire abstinence is the duty of every individual" (vol. i., p. 201).

Three addresses on Slavery and Colonisation, written during his imprisonment, were delivered in Philadelphia, New York and subsequently in Boston. In Philadelphia many friends, already interested in the cause, gathered around the lecturer, and the Boston address was memorable as the occasion of Garrison's meeting with several influential men, whose services in the cause proved second only to his own. Besides J. Tappan, S. May—a Unitarian minister, and S. E. Sewall were present. S. May, who has described the event, thus expresses the effect produced upon himself :—

"Never before was I so affected by the speech of man. When he had ceased speaking, I said to those around me : 'That is a providential man ; he is a prophet ; he will shake our nation to its centre, but he will shake slavery out of it. We ought to know him, we ought to help him. Come, let us go and give him our hands'" (vol. i., p. 214).

This lecture was delivered in Julien Hall, offered, in reply to Garrison's advertised request for the use of a hall, by a Society of Infidels. All other doors were closed against the apostle of liberty ! Garrison had already spoken of the absolute necessity for the church making a decided stand against slavery.—

"It must not support ; it must not palliate the horrid system. It seems morally impossible that a man can be a slave-holder and a follower of the Lamb at the same time. *A Christian Slave-holder*

is as great a solecism as a religious atheist, a sober drunkard or an honest thief " (vol. i., p. 206).

Now he had to acknowledge, with shame, his indebtedness to the very sect he had but lately scathingly denounced ; nevertheless he still clung to the belief that " slavery could be abolished only through the power of the gospel and of the Christian religion."

The friendship and advice of May and Sewall were invaluable to Garrison in his new undertaking, but the difficulties in the way of issuing a weekly journal,—without office, press, type or money—would have daunted a less enthusiastic reformer. Not so Garrison—he decided, with the help of Isaac Knapp (a fellow apprentice in Mr. Allen's office at Newburyport, and now a penniless printer like himself), to publish at least one number of the proposed paper.

Accordingly, in January, 1831, there appeared the first number of the *Liberator*, having for its motto : " Our country is the world—our countrymen are mankind."

(Three numbers were printed with type lent for the purpose by S. Foster, another young printer, after which some old type was picked up at a foundry and turned to account).

In the printing and publishing office, a dreary third story room, scantily furnished, the partners, Isaac Knapp and W. L. Garrison lived.

" Many a time in visiting their office," says Oliver Johnson, " did I find them partaking of their humble repast, which they seasoned with laughter, song, and cheerful talk. A friendly cat cheered their loneliness and protected them from the depredations of mice. Mr. Garrison was fond of his feline companion, and I remember seeing her more than once mounted upon his writing table, and caressing his bald forehead in a most

affectionate way, while he was spinning editorial yarn"* (vol. ii., p. 221).

Another witness writes: "I was often at the office of the *Liberator* . . . I knew of his (Mr. Garrison's) self-denials. I knew he slept in the office with a table for a bed, a book for a pillow and a self-prepared scanty meal for his rations in the office, while he set up his articles in the *Liberator* with his own hand, and without previous commitment to paper" (vol. i., 221, note).

Living thus for some eighteen months, "performing fourteen hours of manual labour, independently of mental toil," working far into the night, did the indefatigable publishers fulfil their promise to the public—"to print the paper as long as they could subsist on bread and water, or their hands obtain employment."

In vain were abuse, threats of assassination, and even the friendly criticisms of earnest supporters directed against the devoted editor, in the hope of silencing or softening the language of this "incendiary" paper.

* The love of animals was a marked characteristic of Garrison's; he had a great fondness for pet animals, especially cats, who instinctively recognised him as their friend, and would come and jump into his lap at first sight and without invitation. From earliest boyhood he had one or more pussies, and his first great sorrow was being compelled to drown an old favourite whose days of usefulness were considered past. He never forgot the agony of that experience. A pleasanter remembrance was of the demonstrations of delight with which another pet cat greeted him, on his return home after a considerable absence. A little while after the boy had gone to bed he was awakened by the rubbing of soft fur against his face, and found that puss had brought her latest litter of kittens, born while he was away, and had deposited them, one by one, about his head. "My eyes moistened when I realised what she had done," he says, "and we all slept in one bed that night" (vol. i., p. 30).

"I am aware," wrote Garrison in the first number of the *Liberator*, "that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject I do not wish to think, or speak, or write with moderation. No! No! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen;—but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and *I will be heard*. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and to hasten the resurrection of the dead" (vol. i., p. 225).

An insurrection of negroes in Virginia, for which Garrison was held to be largely responsible, raised the terror and hostility of the South to fever heat, nor was the feeling of the North much more friendly. "Respectable" Boston papers began to invoke mob-violence, and the South was loud in its demands that the paper should be immediately suppressed. Through all this storm of hatred and abuse, the steadfast editor went calmly on his way, mitigating in no degree the severity of the language in which he denounced slavery, but, at the same time, breathing nothing but kindness for the upholders of this terrible national crime, who were thirsting for his blood.

"As for the planters," he wrote, "I would not wittingly harm a hair of their heads, nor injure them in their lawful property. I am not their enemy, but their friend. It is true, I abhor their oppressive acts; nor will I cease to denounce them in terms of indignation. They will surely

be destroyed if they do not repent. *Men must be free* " (vol. i., p. 237).

To his coloured friends he wrote at this time :—

" Foes are on my right hand and my left. The tongue of detraction is busy against me. I have no communion with the world, the world none with me. The timid, the lukewarm, the base, affect to believe that my brains are disordered, and my words the ravings of a maniac. Even many of my friends—they who have grown up with me from my childhood—are transformed into scoffers and enemies " (vol. i., p. 235).

A resolution introduced in the State Senate of Georgia that a sum of 1000 dollars be offered for the arrest and conviction of the editor of the *Liberator* called forth the following :—

" Scarcely has a proposition of so monstrous a nature ever been submitted to any public body in any country. Yet, we presume, so indifferent or servile are nineteen-twentieths of the newspapers that it will elicit scarcely a single editorial rebuke. Of one thing we are sure : all Southern threats and rewards will be insufficient to deter us from pursuing the work of emancipation. As citizens of the United States, we know our rights, and dare maintain them. We have committed no crime, but are expending our health, comfort and means for the salvation of our country, and for the interest and security of infatuated slaveholders, as well as for the relief of the poor slaves, We are not the enemies of the South because we tell her the truth " (vol. i., p. 248).

Far from instigating the negroes to insurrection, Garrison constantly used his influence, naturally great, not only to arouse and strengthen in the free blacks a desire for self-improvement, but also to foster that wonderful patience and long-suffering which formed

such a marked feature of their character and conduct. To obtain the peaceful recognition of their rights, he told them, they should respect themselves, for their good example must break many fetters: their temperance, industry, peaceableness and piety would prove the safety of emancipation. They should be better than white men—not a difficult task. They should put their children to school and get as much education as possible themselves. They should form societies for moral improvement, and “let the women have theirs—no cause can get along without the powerful aid of women’s influence” (vol. i., p. 255).

The negroes, in turn, supported their champion in every possible way, subscribing and also contributing largely to the *Liberator*.

In January, 1832, was formed the New England Anti-Slavery Society, the first society instituted in accordance with the views expressed in the *Liberator*. The members—twelve in number—after declaring their conviction that “man cannot consistently with reason, religion and the eternal and immutable principles of justice, be the property of man,” stated that:—

“The object of the Society shall be to endeavour, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States, to improve the character and condition of the free people of colour, to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites” (vol. i., p. 281).

Meetings were held, addresses given, and the adherents of the abolition cause multiplied apace.

This increase of numbers brought with it, however, its inevitable difficulties: differences of opinion, both as to the expediency of immediate

emancipation, and also as to the work of the Colonisation Society.

On the latter subject Garrison published, in 1832, a pamphlet, entitled "Thoughts on African Colonisation," in which he set forth, at length, the aims of the Society, together with his reasons for regarding its work as prejudicial to the cause of emancipation. He pointed out that the Society was in reality the apologist of slavery and slaveholders, that it recognised property in slaves, and, in fact, increased their money value, that fear and selfishness were its chief incentives and that it deluded, and quieted the consciences of many who would otherwise have helped forward the cause of emancipation. These statements were supported by extracts from the reports of the Society's own organ, *The African Repository*, and the speeches and writings of its supporters. Garrison also took occasion to defend the character of the free coloured population of the North, and to protest vehemently against the Society's "un-republican and un-Christian sentiments" as to the impossibility of elevating the blacks in their native country—America.

To convince the North that they, by their silence, were implicating themselves in the sin of slavery was indeed a hard task. Slavish attachment to the Union made even those who really disapproved of the slave system fear to raise their voices against this national iniquity. Garrison was already beginning to feel that disunion might be the inevitable result of the Southern obstinacy, and he was the more willing to face this possibility, because he believed that it was by the support of the North that the continued existence of the slave power was rendered possible. He believed, however, that the act of disunion would proceed from the North—the South, he thought, would cling to

the Union as her best and only means of support. In 1831, he had written :—

“ In process of time, one thing is certain : they must either give up their slaves or the Union. The people of the free States are weary of the load of guilt which is imposed upon them by the compact.” And again : “ If the bodies and souls of millions of rational beings must be sacrificed as the price of the union, better, far better, that a separation should take place ” (vol. i., p. 265).

In 1832, he wrote : “ It is said that, if you agitate the question, you will divide the Union. Believe it not ; but should disunion follow, the fault will not be yours. You must perform your duty, faithfully, fearlessly and promptly, and leave the consequence to God ; that duty clearly is, to cease from giving countenance and protection to Southern kidnappers. Let them separate, if they can muster courage enough—and the liberation of their slaves is certain. Be assured that slavery will very speedily destroy this Union if it be let alone ” (vol. i., p. 308). “ So long as we continue one body—a union—a nation—the compact involves us in the guilt and danger of slavery. . . . What protects the South from instant destruction ? *Our physical force*. Break the chain that binds her to the Union, and the scenes of St. Domingo would be witnessed throughout her borders. She may affect to laugh at this prophecy ; but she knows that her security lies in Northern bayonets ” (vol. i., p. 309).

Truly in harmony with colonisation principles—“ one of the genuine flowers of the colonisation garden,” as Garrison expressed it—was the treatment meted out, by the citizens of Canterbury, in the “ free ” North, to the brave young Quakeress, Prudence Crandall.

In January, 1833, Garrison received a letter from

a lady schoolmistress—with whom he had had no previous acquaintance—asking his advice. It appeared that the chance reading of a number of the *Liberator* had so aroused her latent sympathy with the coloured race that, on the request of a respectable coloured girl to be admitted into her school, she had gladly received her. She was, however, speedily informed that, if the girl were allowed to remain, her school would no longer receive the support of the townspeople. Prudence Crandall replied that “it might sink then, for she would not turn her out.” Upon this many of the white girls were removed, and Miss Crandall then decided that in future she would receive only coloured girls, if a sufficient number could be obtained.

The change was accordingly made, but the inhabitants of Canterbury could not quietly submit to such a disgrace being brought upon their town. Although professing real regard for the coloured people, they preferred that they should be educated elsewhere, and, finding Prudence Crandall determined to stand firm, a series of persecutions commenced, which lasted for nearly two years :—

“The school was opened in April ; attempts were immediately made under the law to frighten the pupils away and to fine Miss Crandall for harboring them ; in May, an act prohibiting private schools for non-resident coloured persons, and providing for the expulsion of the latter, was procured from the Legislature, amid the greatest rejoicing in Canterbury (even to the ringing of the church bells) ; under this act, Miss Crandall was, in June, arrested and temporarily imprisoned in the county jail, twice tried and convicted ; her case was carried up to the Supreme Court of Errors, and her persecutors defeated on a technicality, and, pending this litigation, the most vindictive and

inhuman measures were taken to isolate the school from the countenance, and even the physical support of the townspeople. The shops and the meeting-house were closed against teacher and pupils ; carriage in public conveyances was denied them ; physicians would not wait upon them ; Miss Crandall's own family and friends were forbidden under penalty of heavy fines to visit her ; the well was filled with manure, and water from other sources refused ; the house itself was smeared with filth, assailed with rotten eggs and stones, and finally set on fire " (vol. i., p. 321).

We can well imagine with what burning words the editor of the *Liberator* would comment on such proceedings as these. So severe was his censure that many of his friends, including Prudence Crandall herself, remonstrated with the indignant editor.

Elliot Cresson, the representative of the American Colonisation Society, had, for some time past, been busily engaged in seeking support for his Society among the English emancipationists. In order to effect his purpose he had represented the Society as having for its object the liberation and emigration of *slaves*, and so effectually had he conveyed the impression that one of their aims was *emancipation*, that even Clarkson had expressed sympathy with the work of the Society.

To counteract the evil effects of this misrepresentation, it was now thought desirable that a representative of the true emancipationists of America should visit the Mother Country. It was accordingly decided to combine this object with that of seeking funds for the founding of a " Manual Labour School " for free blacks, and the author of the " Thoughts on Colonisation " was chosen as the most suitable person to accomplish the double mission.

A desperate attempt on the part of the Colonisation Society to get Garrison arrested, as he was embarking at New York, was frustrated by the vigilance of his friends, and he sailed for Liverpool on May 2nd, 1833.

Reaching England within the month, he was present in London to witness the closing scenes of the emancipation struggle in England. About sixty delegates from the various anti-slavery societies throughout the country were assembled in London, meeting daily to discuss plans for bringing about the abolition of slavery in the West Indies. To this company, Garrison was promptly introduced, and naturally received a warm welcome. Most of the delegates belonged to the Society of Friends, and their guest was struck by the fact that while the English Quakers were the most earnest pioneers of the anti-slavery movement, their American co-religionists were so far infected by the cruel and inhuman prejudices of their fellow countrymen as to have lost, for the most part, their primitive spirit of liberty and justice.

A challenge, addressed to Elliot Cresson, then in London, inviting him to a public debate, failed in its object, so a public meeting was held, at which Garrison disclosed the conduct and aims of the Colonisation Society, together with the deception practised on Clarkson, Wilberforce and other English emancipationists. In the course of his speech, he referred to the fact that, only a few days before, Sir Robert Peel, in opposing the Emancipation Bill in the House of Commons, had cited the work of the Colonisation Society as proof that emancipation was a curse to the black population, since it necessitated their removal from the land of their birth!

After clearing the minds of English emanci-

pationists of the false impressions produced by the misrepresentations of Cresson and his Society, Garrison next proceeded to Bath for the purpose of visiting William Wilberforce. He was accompanied on this journey by George Thompson, a prominent English emancipationist, with whom he had already formed what was to prove a life-long friendship of the most intimate kind.

Two interviews with the venerable champion of the enslaved negroes resulted in the complete disillusioning of his mind with regard to the conduct of the Colonisation Society, and Garrison had the satisfaction of taking back to America the original of a "Protest against British Support of the American Colonisation Society," signed by the leaders of the abolition movement in England.

The signature of this "Protest" proved to be almost the last act in the cause of liberty of its great champion Wilberforce, his death following about ten days later.

T. Clarkson, who, owing to his blindness, was obliged to take much on trust, was another victim of Cresson's false statements, the conviction firmly impressed on his mind being that the chief object of the Society was the abolition of slavery in the States. But he also was eventually convinced of the wicked deception that had been practised upon him.

At a public meeting held in Exeter Hall, Garrison again exposed the Colonisation Society, and spoke in unsparing terms of the guilt of his beloved country. Citing O'Connell's charges against American slave-holders, he concluded :—

"Never was a more just and fearless rebuke given to a guilty nation. . . . Whatever responsibility may attach to Great Britain for the introduction of slavery into the United States (and to talk of robbery and kidnapping as things that may

be entailed is precious absurdity), the first moment the United States published their Declaration of Independence to the world, from that moment they became exclusively accountable for the existence and continuance of negro slavery" (vol. i., p. 373).

An eloquent and scathing speech from the great Irish liberator himself completed the success of the Exeter Hall meeting, and O'Connell moved a resolution "that the fundamental principle of the Society was ever the colonisation of the free people of colour, and abolition never the object, but, on the contrary, the security of slave property" (vol. i., p. 377). This resolution was carried unanimously.

The most important object of his mission thus happily accomplished, and the collection of funds for the proposed Labour School being, by the advice of his English friends, postponed, Garrison now turned his face homewards. His last act, before leaving England, was to attend the funeral of the great English Emancipationist, Wilberforce, and he sailed for America a few days before the Royal assent was given to the Bill emancipating 800,000 slaves in the British West Indies.

Reports of the speeches delivered at Exeter Hall, and elsewhere, reached America before the arrival of their author, and a warm reception was accordingly prepared for him. In both New York and Boston, the mob was publicly incited to punish the "negro champion," who had "slandered the Americans to the utmost of his power," and who "sought to trample the constitution under foot."

Happily no serious mischief resulted, and in December of the same year, a Convention was held at Philadelphia for the formation of a National Anti-Slavery Society. The constitution of the "American Anti-Slavery Society," setting forth

its principles and objects—the entire abolition of slavery, and the elevation of the people of colour—drawn up by Garrison, was, after much earnest consideration, signed by sixty members.

The most memorable event for Garrison of the following year was his marriage with Helen Benson. Her father, George Benson, although brought up in the Baptist faith, had long held many principles identical with those of the Society of Friends, with whom he was in almost entire sympathy. He had for many years been an earnest advocate of emancipation, and had seen through the designs of the Colonisation Society before the *Liberator* came into existence. He was a warm supporter of the cause of Peace, and also of Temperance. Helen had therefore grown up in an atmosphere well calculated to develop a helpmeet for the champion of the oppressed slaves—and a true helpmeet she ever proved herself. Although seldom, if ever, taking a public part in the work to which her husband had consecrated his life, she was always in the closest sympathy with him, cheering, encouraging, and smoothing his path in every possible way.

Henceforth Garrison's home was to be the bright spot to which his thoughts would turn with yearning love during all his wanderings; but never, for a moment, did either husband or wife allow family affection to militate against the cause of the oppressed. Rather did love for his own children serve to intensify the father's sympathy for those among whom family ties were so cruelly and ruthlessly violated.

Notwithstanding Helen Benson's declaration, "Bread and water agrees with me perfectly," it was obviously desirable that Garrison's financial affairs should now be put upon a less precarious footing. A circular was consequently drawn up

by Garrison and Knapp, commencing with the words : " Shall the *Liberator* die ? " setting forth the conditions under which the paper had hitherto been produced, and appealing for increased support.

Several friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, conspicuous among whom were A. Buffum, E. Wright, junior, and George Thompson, exerted themselves on behalf of the embarrassed editor, and it was proposed that the New England Anti-Slavery Society should take over the paper, paying Garrison a regular salary as editor. Many difficulties had, however, to be encountered, by no means least among which was the dissatisfaction felt by many of his warmest supporters at the " harsh and un-Christian " language used by the editor. In justification of this language, Garrison wrote as follows :—

" In seizing ' the trump of God,' I had indeed to blow ' a jarring blast '—but it was necessary to wake up a nation then slumbering in the lap of moral death. Thanks be to God that blast was effectual : it pierced the ears of the deaf, it startled the lethargic from their criminal sleep, and it shook the land as a leaf is shaken by the wind " (vol. i., p. 458).

And again, in answer to other similar attacks—

" But the *Liberator* uses very hard language, and calls a great many bad names, and is very harsh and abusive. Precious cant, indeed ! And what has been so efficacious as this hard language ? Now, I am satisfied that its strength of denunciation bears no proportion to the enormous guilt of the slave system. The English language is lamentably weak and deficient in regard to this matter. . . . I call a slave-holder a thief because he steals human beings, and reduces them to the condition of brutes ; and I am thought to be very abusive ! I

call the man a thief who takes my pocket-handkerchief from my pocket ; and all the people shout, ' Right ! right ! so he is ! ' and the court seizes him and throws him into prison. Wonderful consistency ! . . . How, then, ought I to feel, and speak, and write, in view of a system which is red with innocent blood, drawn from the bodies of millions of my countrymen, by the scourge of brutal drivers ;—which is full of all uncleanness and licentiousness ;—which destroys the ' life of the soul ' ;—and which is too horrible for the mind to imagine, or the pen to declare ? How ought I to feel and speak ? As a man ! as a patriot ! as a philanthropist ! as a Christian ! My soul should be, as it is, on fire. I should thunder—I should lighten. I should blow the trumpet of alarm, long and loud. I should use just such language as is most descriptive of the crime " (vol. i., pp. 335, 336).

During this trying time, Garrison was greatly cheered by the visit of his English friend, G. Thompson. This distinguished abolitionist,—of whom John Bright afterwards said : " I have always considered Mr. Thompson as the real liberator of the slaves in the English colonies ; for, without his commanding eloquence, made irresistible by the blessedness of his cause, I do not think all the other agencies then at work would have procured their freedom " (vol. i., p. 435, note) —received a warm welcome, alike from friend and foe. So enraged were the advocates of slavery at the interference of a foreigner with their " peculiar institution " that the New York papers again incited the mob to acts of violence against the abolitionists ; and pro-slavery riots took place in many parts of the country.

The " harsh and un-Christian " language of the *Liberator*, and the dissatisfaction it occasioned

among its most earnest supporters gave the "Christian" churches a much desired opportunity of injuring the abolition cause. These churches, which had hitherto almost universally defended or apologised for slavery, and were, for the most part, supporters of the Colonisation Society, now thought to "put down Garrison and his friends" by the formation of a rival society, entitled "An American Union for the relief and improvement of the coloured race." Unable to secure the confidence either of the negroes or of any true abolitionists, the Society had but a brief and ignominious career; but this clerical attack upon the "Garrisonites" marked the commencement of a long and severe struggle, which was destined to divide the abolition ranks, and to sever many warm friendships.

In the year 1835, the question of abolition was brought definitely before Congress, and, although the several petitions, from New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, etc., were all laid on the table, it was evident that the question of slavery had come to stay in Congress. The Southern states now began to show considerable alarm, excited largely by the increased activity of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Meetings were held in New York, and elsewhere, to protest against any interference with Southern institutions, and disturbances occurred in many places. Some idea of the excited state of public feeling may be gathered from a letter written by Mrs. Child, then in New York.

"I have not ventured into the city," she writes, "nor does one of us dare to go to church to-day, so great is the excitement here. You can form no conception of it. 'Tis like the times of the French Revolution, when no man dared trust his neighbours. Private assassins from New Orleans are

lurking at the corners of the streets to stab Arthur Tappan ; and very large sums are offered for any one who will convey Mr. Thompson into the slave states " (vol. i., pp. 490, 491).

Henry Benson also writes : " Five thousand dollars were offered on the Exchange in New York for the head of Arthur Tappan on Friday last. Elizar Wright is barricading his house with shutters, bars and bolts. . . . Judge Jay has been with us two or three days. He is firm as the everlasting hills " (vol. i., p. 492).

A meeting in Faneuil Hall, Boston, called to " vindicate the fair fame of our city," and attended by all the élite of Boston, raised the growing hostility against the abolitionists to the highest pitch. Peleg Sprague, who had recently represented the state of Maine in the Senate, spoke in the strongest terms against the abolitionists, accusing them of exciting men to insurrection and violence, and above all, of endangering the Union. George Thompson, as a foreigner, was especially singled out as an object of attack, and the abolitionists as a body were taunted with their prudence in not going south.

Harrison Grey Otis, another ex-Senator, followed in the same strain, denouncing the Anti-Slavery Society as a dangerous association, denying that Christ was an " immediatist," or that the Scriptures were anywhere opposed to slavery.

The columns of the *Liberator* contained Garrison's reply to these accusations. Sprague's taunt that the abolitionists carefully avoided the South was answered at length, and George Thompson was loyally defended. Two letters were also addressed to H. G. Otis, for whom Garrison had formerly felt great admiration and respect.

The following extracts from Garrison's private correspondence serve to reveal the danger now

threatening the abolitionist leaders, and also the spirit in which it was met.

"How imminent is the danger that hovers about the persons of our friends, G. Thompson and A. Tappan! Rewards for the seizure of the latter are multiplying—in one place they offer 3000 dollars for his *ears*—a purse has been made up, *publicly*, of 20,000 dollars, in New Orleans, for his person. I, too, I desire to bless God, am involved in almost equal peril" (vol. i., p. 517). "Our brother Thompson had a narrow escape from the mob at Concord, and Whittier* was pelted with mud and stones, but he escaped bodily damage. His soul, being intangible, laughed at the salutation. That some of us will be assassinated or abducted, seems more than probable—but there is much apparent, without any real danger. There is a whole eternity of consolation in this assurance—he who loses his life for Christ's sake shall find it. To die is gain. A. E. Grimké . . . has sent me a soul-thrilling epistle, in which, with a spirit worthy of the best days of martyrdom, she says, 'A *hope* gleams across my mind, that *our* blood will be spilt instead of the slave-holders'; *our* lives will be taken and theirs spared.' Is not this Christlike?"

"It comes to us as the voice of an angel . . . Yes, we respond to her cheering declaration—" *This is a cause worth dying for* . . . If by the shedding of *our* blood the lives of our enemies may be saved, let it be shed. Father, Thy will be done!" (vol. i., pp. 517, 518).

* The poet.

CHAPTER III

AFTER enjoying some months of tranquillity in his country home, near Brooklyn, Garrison returned, in September, to Boston, just as the storm, which had long been brewing, was ready to burst upon the heads of the Abolitionists.

The activity of George Thompson, the "foreign scoundrel who dared to interfere with American institutions," had provoked the rage of the proslavery party beyond the possibility of restraint; a placard—confessedly written and printed by the editor of *The Commercial Gazette*, inciting the Boston citizens to "snake out" and punish the "infamous" foreigner, appeared in the streets of Boston. Owing to the excited state of public feeling, it was deemed advisable that Thompson should not give his promised address at the anniversary meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, and only the ordinary business meeting of the women was held, at the Anti-Slavery Rooms.

Notwithstanding this precaution, a howling mob of "respectable" citizens besieged the building, and forced their way up the staircase, refusing to disperse even when assured by the mayor that Thompson was not in the city. Garrison, the only man present at the meeting, being unable to induce the intruders to behave in an orderly manner, and perceiving that his presence only added fuel to the fire, retired into an adjoining room—the printing office—while the women proceeded to transact

their business alone. The scene is thus described by Garrison :—

“The crowd in the street had augmented from a hundred to thousands. The cry was for ‘Thompson! Thompson!’—but the mayor had now arrived, and addressing the rioters, he assured them that Mr. Thompson was not in the city, and besought them to disperse. As well might he have attempted to propitiate a troop of ravenous wolves. None went away—but the tumult continued momentarily to increase. It was apparent, therefore, that the hostility of the throng was not concentrated upon Mr. Thompson, but that it was as deadly against the Society and the Anti-Slavery cause. This fact is worthy of special note—for it incontestably proves that the object of the ‘respectable and influential’ rioters was to put down the cause of emancipation, and that Mr. Thompson furnished merely a pretext for five thousand ‘gentlemen’ to mob thirty Christian women! . . .

“Notwithstanding the presence and frantic behaviour of the rioters in the hall, the meeting of the Society was regularly called to order by the President. She then read a select and an exceedingly appropriate portion of Scripture, and offered up a fervent prayer to God for direction and succour, and the forgiveness of enemies and revilers. It was an awful, sublime and soul-thrilling scene—enough, one would suppose, to melt adamant hearts and make even fiends of darkness stagger and retreat. Indeed, the clear, untremulous tone of voice of that Christian heroine in prayer occasionally awed the ruffians into silence, and was distinctly heard even in the midst of their hisses, threats and curses—for they could not long silently endure the agony of conviction, and their conduct became furious. They now attempted to break

down the partition, and partially succeeded—but the little band of females still maintained their ground unshrinkingly, and continued to transact their business.

“An assault was now made upon the door of the office, the lower panel of which was instantly dashed to pieces. Stooping down and glaring upon me as I sat at the desk, writing an account of the riot to a friend, the ruffians cried out—‘There he is! That’s Garrison! Out with the scoundrel!’ etc., etc. Turning to Mr. Burleigh, I said, ‘You may as well open the door, and let them come in and do their worst.’ But he, with great presence of mind, went out, locked the door, put the key in his pocket, and by his admirable firmness, succeeded in keeping the office safe.

“Two or three constables, having cleared the hall and staircase of the mob, the mayor came in and *ordered* the ladies to desist, assuring them that he could not any longer guarantee protection if they did not take immediate advantage of the opportunity to retire from the building” (vol. ii., pp. 13, 14, 15).

Yielding to his entreaties these heroic women adjourned their meeting, and quietly left the hall, “two and two, each with a coloured friend, thus giving what protection a white skin could ensure a dark one” (vol. ii., p. 16).

“But even their absence,” continued Garrison, “did not diminish the throng. Thompson was not there—the ladies were not there—but ‘*Garrison is there!*’ was the cry. ‘Garrison! Garrison! We must have Garrison! Out with him! Lynch him!’ These and numberless other exclamations arose from the multitude . . . It was now apparent that the multitude would not disperse until I had left the building. At this juncture, an abolition brother, whose mind had not been previously

settled on the peace question, in his anguish and alarm for my safety, and in view of the helplessness of the civil authority, said: 'I must henceforth repudiate the principle of non-resistance. When the civil arm is powerless, my own rights are trodden in the dust, and the lives of my friends are put in imminent peril by ruffians, I will hereafter prepare to defend myself and them at all hazards!' Putting my hand upon his shoulder, I said: 'Hold, my dear brother! You know not what spirit you are of. This is the trial of our faith, and the test of our endurance. Of what value or utility are the principles of peace and forgiveness, if we may repudiate them in the hour of peril and suffering? Do you wish to become like one of those violent and blood-thirsty men who are seeking my life? Shall we give blow for blow and array sword against sword? God forbid! I will perish sooner than raise my hand against any man, even in self-defence, and let none of my friends resort to violence for my protection. If my life be taken, the cause of emancipation will not suffer. God reigns—His throne is undisturbed by this storm—He will make the wrath of man to praise Him, and the remainder He will restrain—His omnipotence will at length be victorious' (vol. ii., pp. 16, 18).

Failing to make his escape through some workshops at the rear of the premises, Garrison was finally discovered and seized by the mob. Their first impulse was to hurl him from the window; one of his captors however, relented, and said, "Don't let us kill him outright," so he was allowed to descend by means of a ladder. On reaching the ground he was immediately seized by two powerful men, to whose protection he probably owed his life. An eyewitness writes:—

"I saw an exasperated mob dragging a man

along, without his hat, and with a rope about him. The man walked with head erect, calm countenance, flashing eyes, like a martyr going to the stake, full of faith and manly hope" (vol. ii., p. 22).

Orders were given to carry the prisoner to the mayor's office, and despite the violence of the mob, his two sturdy supporters succeeded in carrying him safely up to the mayor's room—not, however, before his clothes had been literally torn from his back.

The lack of firmness manifested by the mayor throughout these proceedings rendered it impossible for him now to restrain the mob, or afford any permanent protection to their victim. The only expedient he could devise was to commit Garrison to prison as a disturber of the peace. But before the jail could be reached, a passage had again to be forced through the raging mob. The carriage in which Garrison was placed was immediately surrounded, the rioters clung to the wheels, dashed open the door, seized the horse and tried to upset the carriage. They were, however, vigorously repulsed by the police, and the jail was, at length, reached in safety. The following day, Garrison left the city.

Notwithstanding this almost miraculous deliverance, the weakness of the mayor—especially in the earlier part of the day, when, at the bidding of the mob, he ordered the anti-slavery sign to be torn down from the front of the office—was severely criticised by Garrison, though not, as he said, because he himself sought the protection of the law. "For myself," he wrote, "I ask no physical violence to be exerted for my protection, and I acknowledge no other government than that of the most High. I have condemned the mayor only in view of the oath of office which he has taken, and of the form of government which he

and the people believe they ought at all hazards to maintain" (vol. ii., p. 30).

The Press, religious—with two exceptions—as well as secular, were unanimous in justifying or excusing the rioters, and condemning the abolitionists. Indeed, all "respectable" citizens seem to have vied with one another in defending this iniquitous and illegal transaction. Harriet Martineau, who passed through Boston at the commencement of the riot, writes thus :—

" Lawyers on that occasion defended a breach of the laws ; ladies were sure that the gentlemen of Boston would do nothing improper ; merchants thought the abolitionists were served quite right—they were so troublesome to established routine ; the clergy thought the subject ' so low ' that people of taste should not be compelled to hear anything about it ; and even Judge Story, when I asked him whether there was not a public prosecutor who might prosecute for the assault on Garrison, if the abolitionists did not, replied that he had given his advice (which had been formally asked) against any notice whatever being taken of the outrage,—the feeling being so strong against the discussion of slavery, and the rioters being so respectable in the city. These things I myself heard and saw, or I would not ask anybody to believe what I could hardly credit myself " (vol. ii., p. 37).

The financial difficulties of the *Liberator*, already upon the Anti-Slavery party. The necessity of very embarrassing, were augmented by this attack quitting their printing office at a moment's notice added considerably to the embarrassment of the publishers, and during Garrison's absence from Boston, an additional burden rested upon the shoulders of Isaac Knapp. Still they struggled bravely on, but the next year (1835), the partner-

ship between Garrison and Knapp was dissolved, the latter assuming all the pecuniary liabilities and becoming sole publisher.

A great part of this year was passed by Garrison in retirement at Brooklyn, chiefly in consequence of ill-health. He continued, however, to write for the *Liberator*, and was in constant touch with those more actively engaged in Anti-slavery work.

Dr. Channing's pamphlet on slavery, published in November, 1835, created considerable stir, owing rather to the influential position of the author than to the intrinsic merit of the work. For years Dr. Channing had looked coldly upon the abolition movement, and had earnestly remonstrated with members of his congregation for wishing to join it. The methods of the editor of the *Liberator* repelled him, and all Garrison's attempts to obtain an interview with the doctor proved unavailing. It was, however, impossible for one so prominent in the religious world to remain silent upon a subject of such vital importance, and after the Boston riot the long delayed expression of opinion appeared in pamphlet form. This publication, although largely circulated by some of the friends of emancipation, called forth some severe criticism from the editor of the *Liberator*. In a private letter he wrote :—

“ I have read Channing's work. It abounds in useful truisms expressed in polished terms, but, as a whole, is an inflated, inconsistent and slanderous production ” (vol. ii., p. 61). And again :—

“ Now, Dr. Channing brings two grievous (because slanderous) accusations against the whole body of abolitionists—to wit, that they are *fanatics*, and that something has probably been *lost* to the cause of human liberty by their efforts ! We may complacently smile at such accusations ; but the reputation of Dr. Channing gives them an influence

disastrous to our cause—yea, they are a two-edged sword, wounding us and our cause at the same blow. It was the preaching of the Gospel alone that made Peter and Paul, and Silas and Stephen ‘pestilent fellows,’ ‘stirrers up of sedition,’ etc., etc.” (vol. ii., p. 93).

Nevertheless, Garrison admitted that the pamphlet contained “many eloquent and powerful passages.” He also gave the author credit for pure intentions and moral courage in publishing it.

A speech delivered by Dr. Beecher, at a public meeting called “to take into consideration the increasing desecration of the Sabbath Day,” following upon a sermon which was virtually a vindication of slavery, drew Garrison into a somewhat lengthy discussion of the Sabbath question—a question destined soon to prove an apple of discord among the anti-slavery brethren, and a ready point of attack for their enemies.

Although Garrison had, only a few days previously, commented on the profanation of the Sabbath by military displays, he now gave expression to those broader and less sectarian religious views which were slowly but surely undermining his former somewhat intolerant orthodoxy. In reply to Dr. Beecher’s assertion that “the Sabbath is the great sun of the moral world,” he pointed out that Jesus and His apostles had taken but little account of the Sabbath, that the Jewish Sabbath was kept by no Christians, and that the fourth commandment was no more binding than the other nine—all of which were annihilated by slavery, a system which Dr. Beecher advocated leaving alone, as it was sure to come to an end in the course of a couple of centuries! “Let men consecrate to the service of Jehovah, not merely one day in seven, but *all* their time, thoughts, actions and powers” (vol. ii., p. 108).

Another article followed in which Garrison showed the uselessness of all attempts to enforce Sabbath keeping, and the absurdity of the current superstitious notions on the subject.

"Supposing the fourth commandment," he wrote, "to be, not a Jewish provision merely, but obligatory upon all mankind, we are nowhere taught in the Bible that its violation is worse than that of the third, or fifth, or sixth, or seventh. But it is seldom pretended, even by the most credulous, that *special* judgments, "speaking the divine disapprobation," are visited upon the heads of those who commit adultery, or kill, or covet, or will not honour their father or mother. No—a monopoly of punishment is given to the Sabbath, to ensure its strict outward observance !" (vol. ii., p. 109).

In a series of articles, written in reply to Dr. Beecher, Garrison also took occasion to insist upon the sinfulness of war, and the Christian character of non-resistance. Such heterodox views naturally called forth a storm of protest, not from foes alone, but also from numerous friends of the *Liberator*. Subscriptions fell off, and although the editor disclaimed the intention of allowing the *Liberator* to become "the arena of Sabbatical controversy," "the germs of contention" had already crept into the abolition ranks. The editor's non-resistant views were also made a point of attack by his clerical antagonists, who warned the *Liberator's* subscribers of their "responsibility for such heresies."

In connection with the subject of non-resistance and political action we may note that, at the anniversary meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1837, a resolution was adopted to the effect that abolitionists ought neither to organise a distinct political party, nor attach themselves, as

abolitionists, to any existing party, yet were "solemnly bound by the principles of our civil and religious institutions to refuse to support any man for office who will not sustain the freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the right of petition and the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the district of Columbia and the territories; and who will not oppose the introduction of any new slave state in the Union" (vol. ii., p. 130).

Notwithstanding the opposition of all sections of the community, and especially of the churches, which still closed their doors against abolitionist propaganda, the cause was now making steady progress. *Every day* saw the formation of a new Anti-Slavery Society; 300 such societies (one numbering over 4000 members) existed in the State of Ohio alone; another sign of the change of public feeling may be seen in the fact that in 1837, the use of the Hall of the House of Representatives was granted for a meeting of the Boston Anti-Slavery Society.

The hostility of the clergy, hitherto manifested in censure of the harsh language of the *Liberator*, now assumed a more decided and threatening aspect. A letter from Dr. Channing, ostensibly a vindication of the abolitionists, but in reality a criticism of their methods and spirit (a letter of which Garrison wrote: "a million letters like this would never emancipate a single slave, but rather rivet his fetters more strongly" (vol. ii., p. 132), was followed by a more direct and open attack upon the *Liberator*.

This attack was doubtless to a great extent provoked by Garrison's disregard of the Sabbath, and, indeed, of all external observances, and his severe condemnation of the refusal of the clergy to make any decided stand against slavery; nevertheless the immediate cause of the attack was an

innovation which may fairly be regarded as the beginning of the Woman's Rights movement in America.

Sarah and Angelina E. Grimké, members of the Society of Friends, and ardent advocates of emancipation, had delivered eloquent appeals on behalf of the slave in many of the northern churches. This practice, when carried beyond the limits of their own sect, caused so much scandal that many of their warmest abolition friends urged the sisters to desist from public speaking outside the Quaker community. This they refused, on principle, to do; nor would they even consent to their Quakerism being made an excuse for their "exercising the rights and performing the duties of a rational and responsible being." "The Lord," wrote Sarah, "has very unexpectedly made us the means of bringing up the discussion of the question of women's preaching, and all we have to do is to do our duty" (vol. ii., p. 134).

It was in reference to this subject that the Pastoral letter of the General Association of Massachusetts to the Orthodox Congregational churches protested against "the perplexed and agitating subjects which are now common among us," being forced upon the churches. The letter also lamented the loss of "deference to the Pastoral office," and declared it to be a "violation of sacred and important rights," to encourage a stranger to present to a congregation topics on which the settled pastor does not see fit to preach. Attention was also called to the "widespread and permanent injury" threatening the female character, and to the fact that the New Testament clearly defines "the appropriate duties and influence of women." Thus the clergy were to have the sole right of presenting moral topics to their parishioners—if the anti-slavery reform could not work through

clerical (orthodox) channels, and under clerical censorship it was irreligious and ungodly !

This letter was almost immediately followed by an "appeal of Clerical Abolitionists on Anti-Slavery Measures," signed by five clergymen, but really the work of two of their number, Fitch and Towne. The "Appeal" complained of the *Liberator's* attack upon a minister who had been declared, but not proved, to be a slave holder—its "demand" that ministers should read anti-slavery notices handed to them to read in their churches—the diverting of the support from Missions to Anti-Slavery Societies—and abuse of gospel ministers and excellent Christians who were not ready to unite with the Anti-Slavery Societies. The effect of this last practice was, they declared, "to prevent many worthy men from appearing in favour of immediate emancipation."

The Clerical Appeal was reviewed by Garrison, in the *Liberator*, in language little calculated to allay the hostility of the clergy. The Press took this opportunity to make a fresh attack upon the *Liberator* and "Garrisonism." Another "Appeal" from the abolitionists of the Andover Theological Seminary followed; then a letter from a Massachusetts clergyman declaring that he was an abolitionist but had never swallowed Garrison, and that, with the cause of abolition, Garrison was "determined to carry forward and propagate and enforce his peculiar theology. Slavery is not merely to be abolished, but nearly everything else . . . the Sabbath, the Christian ministry, the churches, and all civil and family government" (vol. ii., pp. 142, 143).

The latter remark had reference to the so-called Perfectionist views which, about this time, took a strong hold on Garrison's mind.

The intellectual and spiritual awakening which formed such a marked feature of this period—a period which has been well described as one when “the mind appeared to have become aware of itself,” when “men grew reflective and intellectual,” when “there was a new consciousness”—stirred in the mind of J. H. Noyes new thoughts on the subject of holiness. A periodical named the *Perfectionist*, published by Noyes, in conjunction with others holding similar views, appeared in 1834, and in the spring of 1837 the editor called at the anti-slavery office in Boston. Finding Garrison deeply interested in his views, Noyes followed up this visit by a long letter in which he expounded them more fully—a letter published at a later date in the *Liberator*.

The effect of this correspondence, and the thoughts awakened by it, appeared in an article written in reply to one claiming divine sanction for human governments. Garrison contended that human governments are “the result of human disobedience to the requirements of heaven,” and that “the kingdom which Christ has established on earth is ultimately to swallow up or radically to subvert all other kingdoms.” But, he continued, “it is idle to talk of a government ceasing to exist over a sinful people, for their very disobedience renders it necessary, until they are willing to submit to Christ. What then? Shall we, *as Christians*, applaud and do homage to human government? Or shall we not rather lay the axe to the root of the tree, and attempt to destroy both cause and effect together? Foolish are the speculations about the best form of human government: what is government, but the express image of the moral character of a people?” (vol. ii., pp. 150, 151).

These new views on government were again

discussed at some length in a Fourth of July address—the words of Noyes:—"My hope of the Millennium begins when Dr. Beecher's expires, viz., at the overthrow of this nation," forming a text. Again, in August, there appeared in the *Liberator* a poem, entitled "True Rest," in which the editor maintained that "practical holiness is attainable by any one who is truly born of God" (vol. ii., p. 153).

These declarations, together with Garrison's reply to the first "Clerical Appeal," furnished his enemies with material for a fresh attack, which took the form of a second "Clerical Appeal."

They now complained that the *Liberator*, for which the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was at this time responsible, "contained such matter that it could no longer be circulated by those who loved the institutions of the Gospel." It was "more dangerous than infidelity" . . . the Society must have "at least a new public organ." "In a piece of poetry from his pen, in the last number, he speaks of keeping, not one in seven, but all the days holy" (vol. ii., p. 157).

In reply to this attack, the board of managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society defended their editor, and friends from all quarters, black and white, rallied to his support.

The Grimké sisters, although not a little troubled at the storm which they had helped to bring upon the *Liberator* and its editor, were firm in their determination to hold their ground. Sarah wrote to H. C. Wright: "I do not feel as if I could surrender my right to discuss any great moral subject. If my connection with anti-slavery must continue at the expense of my conscience, I had far rather be thrown out of the anti-slavery ranks" (vol. ii., p. 160). "What would'st thou think," added Angelina, in a postscript to her sister's letter, "of the

Liberator abandoning abolitionism as a *primary* object, and becoming the vehicle of *all* these grand principles? Is not the time rapidly coming for such a change?" (vol. ii., p. 161).

With the exception of a brief remark to the effect that the *Liberator's* doctrines must not be confounded "with such as individual members may occasionally advance," and that the *Liberator* would not permit its funds "to be used for the promotion of any principles or objects whatever, except those specified in the Constitution," the *Emancipator* (organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society) took no part in these controversies.

This silence called forth a rebuke from Garrison, which was answered in a letter by Lewis Tappan, defending the executive committee, and severely criticising Garrison's attitude and language.

Other friends and fellow workers expostulated at the *Liberator* being used for the purpose of advocating "sentiments novel and shocking to the community," and urged the editor to leave alone the Sabbath and the theoretic theology of the priesthood and the government, until the great work of emancipation was accomplished. To Whittier's expression of regret (on the occasion of the publication of Noyes' Sectarian letter) that the Massachusetts Society was pecuniarily responsible for a paper not under its control—the editor replied that the responsibility would terminate with the current volume—that he had not sought the present arrangement, which was only made experimentally, for one year, and that he would not consent to its renewal.

Thus did differences of opinion and misunderstanding widen the breach in the abolition ranks.

CHAPTER IV

THE murder of E. P. Lovejoy, editor of an anti-slavery paper, by a pro-slavery mob in Illinois, did more, perhaps, to shake the North out of its guilty acquiescence in the slave system than did any other event of this year.

Three printing presses having been destroyed by the mob, a band of twenty volunteers armed themselves—with the mayor's approval—in defence of the fourth press. At their head was Lovejoy, the editor. The warehouse was attacked and set on fire, and Lovejoy, the first to leave the building to face the infuriated mob, fell, a martyr to his anti-slavery principles and the right of free speech. Boston, which two years before had threatened Garrison with a like fate, was stirred to its depths by the news. The timidity of Dr. Channing at length gave way, and Wendell Phillips and Edmund Quincy, both able members of the bar, relinquished all their worldly prospects and definitely cast in their lot with the despised abolition cause.

Garrison's view of this tragic event may be best gathered from his own words :—

"The amiable, benevolent, intrepid Lovejoy," he wrote in the *Liberator*, "is no more ! . . . In his martyrdom he died as the representative of Philosophy, Justice, Liberty and Christianity ; well, therefore, may his fall agitate all heaven and earth ! That his loss will be of incalculable gain to the noble cause which was so precious to his soul, is certain." . . . "We cannot, however, in conscience delay the expression of our regret that our martyred coadjutor and his unfaltering friends in Alton should have allowed any provocation, or personal danger, or hope of victory, or distrust of the protection of heaven, to drive them to take up

arms in self-defence. They were not required to do so either as philanthropists or Christians, and they have certainly set a dangerous precedent in the maintenance of our cause, though this fact does not in the least palliate the blood-thirsty conduct of their assailants. Far be it from us to reproach our suffering brethren, or weaken the impression of sympathy which has been made on their behalf in the minds of the people—God forbid! Yet, in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, who suffered Himself to be unresistingly nailed to the cross, we solemnly protest against any of His professed followers resorting to carnal weapons under any pretext or in any extremity whatever" (vol. ii., p. 190).

Later, Garrison wrote: "Lovejoy was certainly a martyr, but, strictly speaking, he was not—at least in our opinion—a *Christian* martyr. He died like Warren, not like Stephen" (vol. ii., p. 190, note).

The following resolutions of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society express the views of the abolitionist body on this event. "That in resorting to arms, in the last extremity, to put down the implacable, seditious, and desperate enemies of public order, liberty and humanity, and to defend his property and life rather than succumb to their 'reign of terror,'—being cruelly deserted as he was, by the civil and military authorities of the place,—he was amply justified by the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence, by the example of our Revolutionary fathers, and by the applause which mankind have always bestowed upon those who have perished under similar circumstances, consequently that for those who subscribe to that Declaration, and eulogise those patriotic sacrifices, to affect to be shocked at the brave and spirited defence made by Mr. Lovejoy, and on that account to consider his death as not deserving of peculiar sympathy or respect, is

nothing better than base hypocrisy, cold-blooded insensibility and atrocious malignity."

"That while it is not in the province of this Board to determine for the friends of universal emancipation how far, or under what circumstances it is right to use arms in self-defence; and while it is certain that no body of men have ever had a better right to do so than had Mr. Lovejoy and his associates, in view of the dreadful provocations and perils with which they were assailed; yet as abolitionists we are constrained to believe, that if the doctrine of non-resistance had been practically carried out by our brethren in Alton, as it has been by the friends of the coloured race in Boston, New York, and many other places, a similar deliverance and victory would, in the providence of God, have been the result; or, if not, that the spilling of the blood of defenceless men would have had a more thrilling and abiding effect" (vol. ii., pp. 190, 191).

The connection between the *Liberator* and the Massachusetts Society having come to an end with the year 1837, the commencement of the eighth volume of the paper was preceded by the publication of a fresh manifesto signed by Garrison and Knapp. Therein the editor stated that in addition to the subject for the discussion of which the paper had originally been started, he now intended to discuss from time to time, other topics, "intimately connected with the great doctrine of inalienable human rights." "The motto upon our banner," he wrote, "has been from the commencement of our moral warfare, — 'Our country is the world—our countrymen are all mankind.' We trust that it will be our only epitaph. Another motto we have chosen is 'Universal Emancipation.' Up to this time we have limited its application to those who are held in this country, by Southern taskmasters, as marketable commodities, goods

and chattels and implements of husbandry. Henceforth we shall use it in its widest latitude : the emancipation of our whole race from the dominion of man, from the thralldom of self, from the government of brute force, from the bondage of sin—and bringing them under the dominion of God, the control of an inward spirit, the government of the law of love, and into the obedience and liberty of Christ, who is the same yesterday, to-day and for ever . . .

“ Next to the overthrow of slavery, the cause of Peace will command our attention. The doctrine of non-resistance as commonly received and practised by Friends, and certain members of other denominations, we conceive to be utterly indefensible in its application to national wars : not that it goes too far, but that it does not go far enough. If a nation may not redress its wrongs by physical force—if it may not repel and punish a foreign enemy who comes to plunder, enslave or murder its inhabitants—then it may not resort to arms to quell an insurrection, or send to prison or suspend upon a gibbet any transgressors upon its soil. If the slaves of the South have not an undoubted right to resist their masters in the last resort, then no man, or body of men, may appeal to the law of violence in self-defence—for none have ever suffered, or can suffer, more than they. If, when men are robbed of their earnings, their liberties, their personal ownership, their wives and children, they may not resist, in no case can physical resistance be allowable, either in an individual or collective capacity . . .

“ Now the doctrine we shall endeavour to inculcate is that the kingdoms of this world are to become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ; consequently that they are all to be supplanted . . . and He only who is King of kings and Lord of

lords, is to rule in righteousness. . . Its elements are righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost . . . Its government is one of love, not of military coercion or physical restraint ; its laws are not written upon parchment, but upon the hearts of its subjects.

“As to the governments of this world, whatever their titles or forms, we shall endeavour to prove that, in their essential elements, and as at present administered, they are all Anti-Christ, that they can never, by human wisdom, be brought into conformity to the will of God ; that they cannot be maintained except by naval and military power ; that all their penal enactments, being a dead letter without an army to carry them into effect, are virtually written in human blood ; and that the followers of Jesus should instinctively shun their stations of honour, power and emolument—at the same time ‘submitting to every ordinance of man, for the Lord’s sake,’ and offering no physical resistance to any of their mandates, however unjust or tyrannical. The language of Jesus is, ‘My kingdom is not of this world, else would My servants fight.’ ”

“So long as men condemn the perfect government of the Most High, and will not fill up the measure of Christ’s sufferings in their own persons, just so long will they desire to usurp authority over each other—just so long will they pertinaciously cling to human governments, *fashioned in the likeness and administered in the spirit of their own disobedience.* Now, if the prayer of our Lord be not a mockery ; if the kingdom of God is to come universally, and His will be done *on earth as it is in Heaven* ; and if in that kingdom no carnal weapon can be wielded . . . then why are not Christians obligated to come out *now*, and be separate from ‘the kingdoms of the world,’ which are all based

upon *the principle of violence*, and which require their officers and servants to govern and be governed by that principle ? . . .

"These are among the views we shall offer in connection with the heaven originated cause of Peace . .

"As our object is *universal* emancipation,—to redeem woman as well as man from a servile to an equal condition, we shall go for the Rights of Woman to their utmost extent" (vol. ii., pp. 200, 201, 202, 203, 204).

From this declaration we may gather a fair idea of Garrison's Perfectionist and anti-government views, the latter being the natural outcome of his Peace doctrines, rather than of a belief in the second coming of Christ—as was the case with his friend Noyes. His attitude was far less sectarian than Noyes'. Indeed, although throughout life he never ceased to quote largely from the Bible, orthodox religion, with all its externalism, had now almost entirely lost its hold upon his mind.

The following words written to his wife, on the occasion of the marriage of A. E. Grimké to Theodore Weld, will express the freedom of soul to which he had attained. "I frankly told A. my feeling and expressed my fear that brother Weld's sectarianism would bring her into bondage, unless she could succeed in emancipating him . . . I did hope she had been led to see, that in Christ Jesus, all stated observances are so many self-imposed and unnecessary yokes; and that prayer and worship are all embodied in that pure, meek, child-like state of heart which affectionately and reverently breathes but one petition: 'Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.' Religion, dear Helen, is nothing but love—perfect love toward God and toward man—without formality, without hypocrisy, without partiality—depending upon no outward form to preserve its vitality or prove its existence" (vol. ii., pp. 211, 212).

In thus adding to the number of subjects to be discussed in the *Liberator*, Garrison anticipated the views expressed by Emerson four years later. "There is," wrote the latter, "a perfect chain—see it, or see it not—of reforms emerging from the surrounding darkness, each cherishing some part of the general idea ; and all must be seen in order to do justice to any one . . . How trivial seem the contests of the abolitionist whilst he aims merely at the circumstance of the slave" (vol. ii., p. 206). As the *Liberator* was not yet self-supporting, the editor declared his intention of looking "for a bare support for himself and family to other, though yet unknown sources."

Again, during the summer of 1838, ill-health compelled Garrison to entrust the *Liberator* to his friend, O. Johnson, while he sought a much needed rest in the country. Although, disabled in head, eyes and right hand, he was with the greatest difficulty able to write, he still continued to attend anti-slavery meetings and, during the summer, delivered two elaborate addresses. From his own account of the opening meetings at the newly erected Sylvania Hall and of the subsequent destruction of the building, we extract the following, as showing both the implacable hostility still directed against the abolition cause and the culpable weakness of the authorities—and also the calm and heroic attitude of these persecuted non-resistants.

"As soon as I had concluded my address, a furious mob broke into the hall, yelling and shouting as if the very fiends of the pit had suddenly broke loose. The audience rose in some confusion, and would undoubtedly have been broken up, had it not been for the admirable self-possession of some individuals, particularly the women. The mobocrats, finding that they could not succeed in their purpose, retreated into the streets, and, sur-

rounding the building, began to dash in the windows with stones and brickbats. It was under these appalling circumstances that Mrs. Chapman rose, for the first time in her life, to address a promiscuous assembly of men and women—and she acquitted herself nobly . . .

“As the tumult from without increased, and the brickbats fell thick and fast (no one however being injured), her eloquence kindled, her eye flashed, and her cheeks glowed, as she devoutly thanked the Lord that the stupid repose of the city had at length been disturbed by the force of truth . . . The meeting broke up about ten o'clock and we all got safely home. The next day the street was thronged with profane ruffians and curious spectators—the women, however, holding their meetings in the hall all day, till towards evening. It was given out by the mob that the hall would be burnt to the ground that night. We were to have a meeting in the evening, but it was impossible to execute our purpose. The mayor induced the managers to give the key of the building into his hands. He then locked the doors, and made a brief speech to the mob, assuring them that he had the keys, and that there would be no meeting, and requesting them to retire. He then went home, but the mob were bent on the destruction of that hall. They had now increased to several thousands, and soon got into the hall by dashing open the doors with axes. They then set fire to this huge building, and in the course of an hour it was a solid mass of flame. The bells of the city were rung and several engines rallied ; but no water was permitted to be thrown upon the building ” (vol. ii., pp. 215, 216).

The New England Anti-Slavery Convention which met in May, 1838, was memorable chiefly as the battle ground of the “ Woman’s Question.” An attempt was made to rescind the resolution,

previously adopted, that women should be invited to become members and take part in the proceedings. This attempt being unsuccessful, Amos Phelps, and five other orthodox clergymen, asked to have their names removed from the rolls, and their protest printed. Whittier also wrote in his Pennsylvania paper that the discussion of the question of admitting women to membership had "nothing to do with the professed objects of the Convention, and a discussion of the merits of animal magnetism, or of the Mormon Bible would have been quite as appropriate" (vol. ii., p. 221). This protest called forth from Garrison the following expression of opinion :—

"The 'Woman Question,' so far as it respects the right or the propriety of *requiring women to be silent* in Anti-Slavery Conventions, when they affirm that their consciences demand that they shall speak, is not an 'irrelevant' question, but one which it is perfectly proper to discuss in such bodies whenever the right alluded to is claimed. . . . Is it not as proper to discuss the *means* as the *end* of our organisation? It would not, indeed, be relevant then and there to discuss Woman's Rights; but when a woman responds aye to a proposition, or rises to express her conviction from a sense of duty, shall we '*Apply the Gag?*'" (vol. ii., p. 221).

But the most momentous event of the year was the holding of a Peace Convention, and the formation of the Non-Resistance Society.

The subject of Peace—always one of deep interest to Garrison—had lately been discussed in a series of weekly lectures, delivered in Boston by several prominent Unitarian ministers. The effect of these lectures was, however, weakened by the failure of the speakers to follow out their peace principles to their logical conclusions. The Peace Societies also

were so inconsistent—the American Peace Society “enrolling upon its list of members, not converted, but belligerous commanders-in-chief, generals, colonels, majors, corporals and all,”—that Garrison finding it “radically defective in principle and based upon the sand,” had given notice in August, 1837: “I hope to be more deeply engaged in the cause of Peace by and by than I am at present ; and unless they alter their present course, the first thing I shall do will be to serve our Peace Societies as I have done the Colonisation Societies ” (vol. ii., p. 222).

Accordingly, in May, 1838, at a meeting of “Friends of Peace,” a committee was appointed to call a Convention, “for the purpose of having a free and full discussion of the principles of Peace, and of the measures best adapted to promote this holy cause.” Garrison’s views on this important subject are well expressed in the following letter :—

“We shall probably find no difficulty in bringing a large majority of the Convention to set their seal of condemnation upon the present Militia system and its ridiculous and pernicious accompaniments. They will also, I presume, reprobate all wars, defensive as well as offensive. They will not agree so cordially as to the inviolability of human life. But few, I think, will be ready to concede that Christianity forbids the use of physical force in the punishment of evil doers ; yet nothing is plainer to my understanding, or more congenial to the feelings of my heart. The desire of putting my enemies into a prison, or inflicting any kind of chastisement upon them, except of a moral kind, is utterly eradicated from my breast. I can conceive of no provocations greater than those which my Lord and Master suffered unresistingly. In dying upon the cross that His enemies might live,—in asking for their forgiveness in the extremity of His agonies,—He has shown me how to meet all my foes, aye, and

to conquer them, or, at least, to triumph over them.

"Henceforth, then, I war with no man after the flesh. I feel the excellence and sublimity of that precept which bids me pray for those who despitefully use me ; and of that other precept which enjoins upon me, when smitten upon the one cheek, to turn the other also. Even in this the yoke of the Saviour is easy, and His burden is light. We degrade our spirits in a brutal conflict. To talk of courts of justice, and of punishing evil and disobedient men,—of protecting the weak, and avenging the wronged, by a *posse comitatus*, or a company of soldiers,—has a taking sound ; but it is hollow in my ears. I believe that Jesus Christ is to conquer this rebellious world as completely as the spirit of evil has now possession of it ; and I know that He repudiates the use of all carnal weapons in carrying on His warfare. There is not a brickbat or a bludgeon, not a sword or pistol, not a bowie-knife or musket, not a cannon or bombshell, which He does not *suffer* his universal foe to use against Him ; and which He does not *forbid* His soldiers to employ in self-defence, or for aggressive purposes. If, then, the spirit of Christ dwell in me, how can I resort to those things which He could not adopt ? If I belong to His kingdom, what have I to do with the kingdoms of this world ? Let the dead bury their dead " (vol. ii., p. 225).

In September the Convention met. After the business preliminaries had been settled (several of the orthodox party having withdrawn in consequence of women being elected to the business committee), H. C. Wright proposed a resolution "declaring that no man, no government, has a right to take the life of man, on any pretext, according to the gospel of Christ " (vol. ii., p. 228). An animated discussion followed and the resolution was finally adopted by a large majority.

Garrison, as chairman of a committee elected for the purpose of forming the new Society, then drew up a constitution and Declaration of Sentiments, which, although radical in all things, was adopted by a considerable majority. The declaration was as follows (vol. ii., pp. 230, 231) :

"Assembled in Convention, from various sections of the American Union, for the promotion of peace on earth and good-will among men, we, the undersigned, regard it as due to ourselves, to the cause which we love, to the country in which we live, and to the world, to publish a DECLARATION, expressive of the principles we cherish, the purposes we aim to accomplish, and the measures we shall adopt to carry forward the work of peaceful, universal reformation. We cannot acknowledge allegiance to any human government ; neither can we oppose any such government by a resort to physical force. We recognise but one KING and LAW-GIVER, one JUDGE and RULER of mankind. We are bound by the laws of a kingdom which is not of this world ; the subjects of which are forbidden to fight ; in which MERCY and TRUTH are met together, and RIGHTEOUSNESS and PEACE have kissed each other ; which has no state lines, no national partitions, no geographical boundaries ; in which there is no distinction of rank, or division of caste, or inequality of sex ; the officers of which are PEACE, its exactors RIGHTEOUSNESS, its walls SALVATION, and its gates PRAISE ; and which is destined to break in pieces and consume all other kingdoms.

"Our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind. We love the land of our nativity only as we love all other lands. The interests, rights, liberties of American citizens are no more dear to us than are those of the whole human race. Hence, we can allow no appeal to patriotism, to revenge

any national insult or injury. The PRINCE OF PEACE, under whose stainless banner we rally, came not to destroy, but to save, even the worst of enemies. He has left us an example, that we should follow His steps. GOD COMMENDETH HIS LOVE TOWARD US, IN THAT WHILE WE WERE YET SINNERS, CHRIST DIED FOR US.

"We conceive, that if a nation has no right to defend itself against foreign enemies, or to punish its invaders, no individual possesses that right in his own case. The unit cannot be of greater importance than the aggregate. If one man may take life, to obtain or defend his rights, the same licence must necessarily be granted to communities, states, and nations. If *he* may use a dagger or a pistol, *they* may employ cannon, bombshells, land and naval forces. The means of self-preservation must be in proportion to the magnitude of interests at stake and the number of lives exposed to destruction. But if a rapacious and blood-thirsty soldiery, thronging these shores from abroad, with intent to commit rapine and destroy life, may not be resisted by the people or magistracy, then ought no resistance to be offered to domestic troublers of the public peace or of private security. No obligation can rest upon Americans to regard foreigners as more sacred in their persons than themselves, or to give them a monopoly of wrongdoing with impunity.

"The dogma, that all the governments of the world are approvingly ordained of God, and that THE POWERS THAT BE in the United States, in Russia, in Turkey, are in accordance with His will, is not less absurd than impious. It makes the impartial Author of human freedom and equality, unequal and tyrannical. It cannot be affirmed that THE POWERS THAT BE, in any nation, are actuated by the spirit or guided by the example of Christ, in the

treatment of enemies ; therefore, they cannot be agreeable to the will of God ; and therefore, their overthrow, by a spiritual regeneration of their subjects, is inevitable.

“ We register our testimony, not only against all wars, whether offensive or defensive, but all preparations for war ; against every naval ship, every arsenal, every fortification ; against the militia system and a standing army ; against all military chieftains and soldiers ; against all monuments commemorative of victory over a fallen foe, all trophies won in battle, all celebrations in honour of military or naval exploits ; against all appropriations for the defence of a nation by force and arms, on the part of any legislative body ; against every edict of government requiring of its subjects military service. Hence, we deem it unlawful to bear arms, or to hold a military office.

“ As every human government is upheld by physical strength, and its laws are enforced virtually at the point of the bayonet, we cannot hold any office which imposes upon its incumbent the obligation to compel men to do right, on pain of imprisonment or death. We, therefore, voluntarily exclude ourselves from every legislative and judicial body, and repudiate all human politics, worldly honours, and stations of authority. If *we* cannot occupy a seat in the legislature or on the bench, neither can we elect *others* to act as our substitutes in any such capacity.

“ It follows, that we cannot sue any man at law, to compel him by force to restore anything which he may have wrongfully taken from us or others ; but if he has seized our coat, we shall surrender up our cloak, rather than subject him to punishment.

“ We believe that the penal code of the old covenant, AN EYE FOR AN EYE, AND A TOOTH FOR A TOOTH, has been abrogated by JESUS CHRIST ; and

that, under the new covenant, the forgiveness instead of the punishment of enemies has been enjoined upon all His disciples, in all cases whatsoever. To extort money from enemies, or set them upon a pillory, or cast them into prison, or hang them upon a gallows, is obviously not to forgive, but to take retribution. VENGEANCE IS MINE, I WILL REPAY, SAITH THE LORD.

“The history of mankind is crowded with evidences proving that physical coercion is not adapted to moral regeneration ; that the sinful disposition of men can be subdued only by love ; that evil can be exterminated from the earth only by goodness ; that it is not safe to rely upon an arm of flesh, upon man whose breath is in his nostrils, to preserve us from harm ; that there is great security in being gentle, harmless, long-suffering, and abundant in mercy ; that it is only the meek who shall inherit the earth, that the violent who resort to the sword are destined to perish with the sword. Hence, as a measure of sound policy—of safety to property, life and liberty—of public quietude and private enjoyment—as well as on the ground of allegiance to HIM who is KING OF KINGS and LORD OF LORDS, we cordially adopt the non-resistance principle ; being confident that it provides for all possible consequences, will ensure all things needful to us, is armed with omnipotent power, and must ultimately triumph over every assailing force.

“We advocate no Jacobinical doctrines. The spirit of Jacobinism is the spirit of retaliation, violence, and murder. It neither fears God nor regards man. *We* would be filled with the spirit of CHRIST. If we abide by our principles, it is impossible for us to be disorderly, or plot treason, or participate in any evil work ; we shall submit to every ordinance of man, FOR THE LORD’S SAKE ; obey all the requirements of Government, except

such as we deem contrary to the commands of the gospel ; and in no case resist the operation of law, except by meekly submitting to the penalty of disobedience.

“But, while we shall adhere to the doctrine of non-resistance and passive submission to enemies, we purpose, in a moral and spiritual sense, to speak and act boldly in the cause of GOD ; to assail iniquity, in high places and in low places ; to apply our principles to all existing civil, political, legal and ecclesiastical institutions ; and to hasten the time when the kingdoms of this world will have become the kingdoms of our LORD and of His CHRIST, and He shall reign for ever.

“It appears to us a self-evident truth, that, whatever the gospel is designed to destroy at any period of the world, being contrary to it, ought now to be abandoned. If, then, the time is predicted when swords shall be beaten into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks, and men shall not learn the art of war any more, it follows that all who manufacture, sell or wield those deadly weapons, do thus array themselves against the peaceful dominion of the SON OF GOD, on earth.

“Having thus briefly, but frankly, stated our principles and purposes, we proceed to specify the measures we propose to adopt, in carrying our object into effect.

“We expect to prevail through THE FOOLISHNESS OF PREACHING—striving to commend ourselves unto every man’s conscience, in the sight of GOD. From the Press, we shall promulgate our sentiments as widely as practicable. We shall endeavour to secure the co-operation of all persons, of whatever name or sect. The triumphant progress of the cause of TEMPERANCE and of ABOLITION in our land, through the instrumentality of benevolent and voluntary associations, encourages us to com-

bine our own means and efforts for the promotion of a still greater cause. Hence, we shall employ lecturers, circulate tracts and publications, form societies, and petition our State and national governments, in relation to the subject of UNIVERSAL PEACE. It will be our leading object to devise ways and means for effecting a radical change in the views, feelings, and practices of society, respecting the sinfulness of war and the treatment of enemies.

“In entering upon the great work before us, we are not unmindful that, in its prosecution, we may be called to test our sincerity, even as in a fiery ordeal. It may subject us to insult, outrage, suffering, yea, even death itself. We anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, calumny. Tumults may arise against us. The ungodly and violent, the proud and pharisaical, the ambitious and tyrannical, principalities and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places, may combine to crush us. So they treated the MESSIAH, whose example we are humbly striving to imitate. If we suffer with Him, we know that we shall reign with Him. We shall not be afraid of their terror, neither be troubled. Our confidence is in the LORD ALMIGHTY, not in man. Having withdrawn from human protection, what can sustain us but that faith which overcomes the world? We shall not think it strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try us, as though some strange thing had happened unto us; but rejoice inasmuch as we are partakers of CHRIST’s sufferings. Wherefore, we commit the keeping of our souls to GOD, in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator. FOR EVERY ONE THAT FORSAKES HOUSES, OR BRETHREN, OR SISTERS, OR FATHER, OR MOTHER, OR WIFE, OR CHILDREN, OR LANDS, FOR CHRIST’S SAKE, SHALL RECEIVE A HUNDRED FOLD, AND SHALL INHERIT EVERLASTING LIFE.

"Firmly relying upon the certain and universal triumph of the sentiments contained in this DECLARATION, however formidable may be the opposition arrayed against them—in solemn testimony of our faith in their divine origin—we hereby affix our signatures to it ; commending it to the reason and conscience of mankind, giving ourselves no anxiety as to what may befall us, and resolving in the strength of the LORD GOD calmly and meekly to abide the issue."

It was decided that the Society should be known as the "New England Non-Resistant Society," as "the term peace had become equivocal by usage, and did not convey to the mind all that the Gospel really embodies in it."

Several members of the Convention Committee, including S. J. May and E. Quincy, were unable, at first, to accept the declaration of sentiments in its entirety. The following letter from E. Quincy shows the conscientious and thorough way in which the question was thought out. E. Quincy joined the Society three months later :—

"MY DEAR GARRISON, My unwillingness to be left out of the band of generous spirits who are joined with you in the holy work of disseminating what I hold to be true Christianity, makes me submit to you these brief considerations. My chief present objection to signing the Declaration of Sentiments and Constitution is, that I conceive them to amount not only to a renunciation of civil government and the false principles on which it rests, but of every thing connected with it and sanctioned by it. Now, I utterly repudiate the whole of the man-killing, God-defying rights of power and bloodshed which that system assumes to have ; but there are certain things originating in government, and sanctioned by it, which I think are innocent, and may be innocently used. For

example, I do not see how one who assents to the principles laid down in their unqualified extent can receive or pass a bank bill, which is a promise of a corporation created by government, depending upon it, and enforced by it by physical power in the last resort. So with coined money : it bears the image and superscription of human government, and is guarded by severe laws. Now I cannot think it sinful to recognise government so far as to take or give away money. So an insurance company is a creature of government, and he who takes out a policy of insurance may call in the strong arm of the law, if his due be not accorded. to him : but I cannot think it wrong to pay a premium of insurance, and receive the money in case of loss. To sue for it and compel payment is another thing. So the various instruments by which property is transferred or arranged involve the ultimate resort to force ; but I cannot believe that every mortgage, deed, lease, contract, bond, etc., etc., is necessarily a sinful recognition of the man-killing, injury-resisting principle.

“ I grant that the resort to force is never to be had, but the injury to be submitted to and forgiven. But the ordinary and innocent business of life can no more be carried on without these contrivances than it can without money ; and I hold that a man giving or taking them without the intention of appealing to force at the inception, and without actual resort to it at the conclusion of such contracts, no more recognises the vicious principles of government than he does who takes or passes money. I might mention a variety of other things if I had time to think of them, which, though recognised by, originating in, and sustained by government, I must think indifferent, and to involve no sacrifice of the non-resistant principle in him that has to do with them—provided he

never actually resorts to the force provided for him, and never intends to do so. I take it the sinfulness of connexion with any of these things consists in the thought of violence, and in the act of violence ; and that he who never harbours the one or executes the other, is innocent of an undue compliance with the law of force.

" Now, my dear friend, I felt that by signing those instruments —i.e., the Declaration and Constitution—cordially agreeing as I did with the spirit, I might lay a snare for my conscience, and find on consideration that the sentiments and principles to which I should subscribe were not my sentiments, and were principles by which I could not live. Now you may see so clearly through these matters that you may feel no scruple about these things, and may not hold that these are legitimate inferences from the principles laid down—but so do not I.

" Now if the Declaration and Constitution can be so altered in phraseology as to say to this effect, that no man can innocently sue or defend a suit at law, or enter into any contract sanctioned by government which rests ultimately on physical force, with the thought of violence in his heart, and can never resort to the power provided for him, I can sign them both with all my heart. Whether this can consistently be done or not you will have my heart and prayers with you, and all that I can do by word and deed to assist you in your heavenly work " (vol. ii., pp. 234, 235, 236).

To S. May, Garrison wrote :—" The verbal amendments that have been made, I think will be very satisfactory to you . . . The Declaration closes in the following strain . . . This instrument contemplates nothing, repudiates nothing, but the spirit of violence in thought, word and deed. Whatever, therefore, may be done without pro-

voking that spirit, and in accordance with the spirit of disinterested benevolence, is not touched or alluded to in the instrument. The sum total of the affirmation is this—that, the Lord helping us, we are resolved, come what may, as Christians, to have long-suffering towards those who may despitefully use and prosecute us—to pray for them—to forgive them, in all cases. This is ‘the head and front of our offending’—nothing more, nothing less” (vol. ii., pp. 236, 237).

And again to W. Benson: “We shall not have a *great* and *sudden* rush into our ranks! There are few in this land, in this world, who will be able to abide by the principles we have enunciated; though there may be many whose consciences must assent to their correctness. I see before us many trials through which we shall doubtless be called upon to pass, if we are faithful to our testimony. But let none of these things move us, or deter us from going forward. The Lord God is our sun and shield—our strength and our defence” (vol. ii., p. 237).

As a natural result of this Peace agitation a considerable portion of the *Liberator* was now devoted to the subject of Non-resistance. This, of course, called forth fresh protests, and it soon became evident that, if justice was to be done to the cause of Non-resistance without prejudice to that of abolition, the Non-resistance Society must possess a separate organ of its own. It was accordingly decided to issue, at the commencement of the next year, a journal entitled the *Non-Resistant*.

The steady advance of abolition sentiment was now beginning to make itself evident at the polls. Resolutions were passed by various Anti-Slavery Societies, declaring that abolitionists should vote for no man not opposed to slavery, and should vote for immediate emancipationists irrespective of

party. Some abolitionists were even in favour of forming a separate Anti-Slavery political party. To this, however, Garrison was always steadily opposed, relying on moral rather than political means for the accomplishment of his purpose. The aggressive attitude of the South was, indeed, the chief agent in making abolition a political question.

Difficulties and opposition still beset the editor of the *Liberator*. The financial position of the paper became daily more embarrassing, Knapp's affairs at length assuming such a precarious aspect, that Jackson, E. Quincy, W. Basset and O. Johnson were constrained to come to the rescue, and undertake the supervision of the finances, and the charge of the business correspondence.

Colonisationists and clergy were still busy circulating aspersions of Garrison's character, calling him "infidel," "Sabbath-breaker," "enemy of the Christian religion," and "violinator of all law, both human and divine." To these charges, Francis Jackson replied at some length, in a private letter, from which we quote the following :—

"I would remark at the outset, that I believe the overthrow of slavery to be the greatest moral question of the age ; that it is the undoubted right and the conscientious duty of *all* to unite their efforts for its immediate extermination ; and that in order to insure unity of action, it is proper for each so far to respect the religious and political views of all as to move forward with harmony and energy in one unbroken rank. As a humble member of this great body of the true friends of the slave, I have endeavoured, I trust, to adhere to this rule in good faith. I do not therefore, know, except incidentally, or accidentally, what are the religious or political opinions of those with whom I am proud to be associated. Nor do I know what Mr. Garrison's religious views are, but I do verily

believe him to be a meek and humble follower of Christ, sincerely desiring to know and endeavouring to do the will of God. In short, I do not know a more thorough and consistent Christian. I am aware that many would exclaim with surprise, What ! do you pronounce him to be a Christian without knowing his religious opinions ? How do you arrive at such a conclusion ? Answer : In the same manner that I judge of a tree—' by its fruits.' . . .

" Mr. Garrison, I am told, holds it to be lawful to do good on the Sabbath ; he would, as far as he had the power, heal the ' withered arm ' on that day, or the withered souls, which (it grieves me to say it) professing Christians as well as others in our land have ruined. His doctrine is not that we should keep the Sabbath less holy, but we should keep it and all other days more so.

" An enemy of the Christian religion ! If this charge had read—an enemy to hypocrisy under the garb of the Christian religion, it would have been true ; as it stands it is wholly untrue. He is a distinguished ornament of the Christian religion. You cannot read any of his works without seeing that his mind and heart are deeply penetrated by faith in the gospel.

" A disturber of the peace of Society ! This is true in the sense that Christ and the apostle Paul disturbed the peace of society in their day, by the doctrines they proclaimed. It is true in no other sense...

" His character is not only spotless, but has never been impeached. Those who would slander him do prudently in making their charges thus vague . . . It is not Mr. Garrison that violates the laws of God ; it is his opponents that do this, for which they are made to feel most keenly the scorching severity of his rebukes. Of him it has been aptly said, that he severs at a blow what others would be a great while in sawing off " (vol. ii., pp. 250, 251, 252).

CHAPTER V

ALL the hostile attacks hitherto made upon the *Liberator* had failed to shake the position or influence of its editor. The development of his non-resisting principles—affecting, as they did, his attitude towards the government and political action—now put into the hands of his opponents a more powerful weapon, of which they were not slow to avail themselves.

The leader of the next attack was H. B. Stanton, a member of the New York executive committee. He, in conjunction with certain clerical brethren, now sought, as Garrison expressed it, “to make it a moral and religious duty for every abolitionist, entitled to vote, to go to the polls; and, if he refused on any ground whatever, then to brand him as a recreant to the cause of the slave” (vol. ii., p. 260). As the editor of the *Liberator* was now committed to the doctrine of non-resistance, it was hopeless to expect from its columns any true or useful expression of opinion on the duty of voting—therefore, it was argued, a new paper must be started to supply the need.

Much secret plotting was carried on among the Anti-Garrisonites, but their schemes, being known to Garrison and his friends, were promptly exposed in the columns of the *Liberator*.

The following, from a letter by Wendell Phillips, published in the *Liberator*, gives a good idea of the situation, and of the estimation in which the paper

was held, even by many of those who differed from the editor on the subject of non-resistance.

"I regard the success of the *Liberator* as identical with that of the abolition cause itself. Though so bitterly opposed, it does more to disseminate, develop and confirm our principles than any other publication whatever . . . Almost all the opposition it has met with, various as it seems, springs from one cause . . . The real cause of this opposition, in my opinion, is the fundamental principle upon which the *Liberator* has been conducted: that rights are more valuable than forms; that truth is a better guide than prescription; that no matter how much truth a sect embodies, no matter how useful a profession may be, no matter how much benefit a form of government may confer, still they are all but dust in the balance when weighed against the protection of human rights, the discussion and publication of great truths; that all forms of human device are worse than useless when they stand in truth's way. These are its principles; frank, fearless, single-heartedness, the utmost freedom of thought and speech, its characteristics. If we fail to impress these on each abolition heart, our efforts are paralysed and our cause lost. Pride of settled opinion, love of lifeless forms, undue attachment to sect, are its foes.

"With the fullest charity for all conscientious scruples and dissenting, as I do, from the Peace views of the *Liberator*, I cannot see how their discussion, conducted in a Christian spirit and with sincere love of truth, can offend the conscience of any man. Limited to a brief space, as it is, it can have no effect on the general character of the paper. I mean to give it all my influence, to gain it the confidence, and pour its spirit into the mind of every one I can reach. I shall esteem it a privilege

to second your efforts. The danger I most dread is, to have our cause fall under the control of any party, sect or profession. That way ruin lies. The chiefest bulwark against it I know of is the *Liberator*. Success to it! May it have the cordial support of every abolition heart" (vol. ii., pp. 263, 264, 265).

Stanton's attempts to entrap Garrison into a public condemnation of political action—and to pass resolutions at the anti-slavery meetings to the effect that voting was a *duty*, binding upon all abolitionists, were frustrated; nevertheless, there was a growing opposition to the non-resistant views of the Editor of the *Liberator*.

To the charge that those who refused to vote were recreant to the principles embodied in the "Declaration of Sentiments" of the Anti-Slavery Society, Garrison replied: "As men, as citizens, as Christians, we confess that we have advocated the heaven-originated cause of Non-resistance, and shall continue to do so, until we are convicted of error—but *not as abolitionists*. And yet the non-resistance theory is embodied in the Anti-Slavery Constitution and Declaration of Sentiments, the two instruments being admitted by Birney to be of equal weight. When he says of this theory—'Our wives, our daughters, our sisters, our mothers, we are to see set upon by the most brutal without any effort on our part except argument to defend them; and even they themselves are forbidden to use, in defence of their purity, such powers as God has endowed them with for its protection, if resistance should be attended with injury or destruction to the assailant,' he simply echoes what the Declaration enjoins upon the *slave*. As against the principles of the Revolutionary fathers, 'ours,' it says, 'forbid the doing of evil that good may come';

while the Constitution pledges the Society 'never, in any way, to countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by a resort to physical force.' The non-resistants alone obey this to the letter, and yet are bade get out, or 'amend the Constitution.' Assuredly, the founders did not all appreciate what they were doing when they subscribed to this doctrine : 'All this I readily admit.' What I mean to say is, that, by a strict and fair construction of the instruments above alluded to, *Non-resistance is more especially enjoined upon abolitionists than the duty of using the elective franchise*" (vol. ii., pp. 303, 304).

So also wrote David Lee Child : "for myself, I have never been able to conceive of any principles on which slaves can be discountenanced in resorting to physical force, except that of total abstinence from all violence" (vol. ii., p. 304, note).

"I repeat," continued Garrison, "as the stirring conviction of my heart, and the logical deduction of my understanding, that non-resistance is destined to pour new life-blood into the veins of abolition—to give it extraordinary vigour—to clothe it with new beauty—to inspire it with holier feelings—to preserve it from corruption—though not necessarily connected with it" (vol. ii., p. 305).

At length a formal secession took place—on the occasion of the re-assertion of the right of female membership—and a new Massachusetts' Abolition Society was formed,—its avowed object being "to disconnect the abolition cause from its encumbrances," and the formation of a third (anti-slavery) party was strongly advocated. Garrison's views on the subject of the formation of an Anti-slavery political party are well expressed in the following extract :—

"Abolitionists ! You are now feared and respected by all political parties—not because of the

number of votes you can throw, so much as in view of the moral integrity and sacred regard to principle which you have exhibited to the country. It is the religious aspect of your enterprise which impresses and overawes men of every sect and party. Hitherto, you have seemed to be actuated by no hope of preferment or love of power, and therefore have established, even in the minds of your enemies, confidence in your disinterestedness. If you shall now array yourselves as a political party, and hold out mercenary rewards to induce men to rally under your standard, there is reason to fear that you will be regarded as those who have made the anti-slavery cause a hobby to ride into office, however plausible or sound may be your pretexts for such a course. You cannot, you ought not to expect that the political action of the State will move faster than the religious action of the church, in favour of the abolition of slavery; and it is a fact, not less encouraging than undeniable, that both Whig and Democratic parties have consulted the wishes of abolitionists even beyond the measure of their political strength. More you cannot expect, under any circumstances" (vol. ii., p. 312).

In January, 1839, appeared the first number of the "*Non-Resistant*," bearing as its motto the words: "Resist not Evil. Jesus Christ."

Although Garrison was on the editorial committee, most of the work connected with the paper devolved upon the other two members, Mrs. Chapman, and E. Quincy. The year 1839 saw the final dissolution of the partnership of Garrison and Knapp, the duties of the latter being now assumed by a committee, while Garrison retained his position as editor.

Throughout the following year, the old struggle continued between those who still held to the original immediate emancipationist principles and

modes of action, and the " New Organisation " and third party, who now sought to convert the existing Anti-slavery organisation into a political machine.

Meanwhile, Garrison and his friends experienced great joy at the receipt of a letter, from the Rev. Charles Fitch, author of the first " clerical appeal "; from which we extract the following : —

" DEAR SIR,—Herewith I attempt the discharge of a duty to which I doubt not that I am led by the dictates of an enlightened conscience, and by the influences of the Spirit of God. I have been led, of late, to look over my past life, and to inquire what I would think of past feelings and actions, were I to behold Jesus Christ in the clouds of heaven, coming to judge the world, and to establish His reign of holiness and righteousness and blessedness over the pure in heart.

" From such an examination of my past life, I find very much, even in what I have regarded as my best actions, deeply to deplore ; but especially do I find occasion for shame and self-loathing and deep humiliation before God and man, when I see in what multiplied instances the ruling motive of my conduct has been a desire to please men, for the sake of their good opinion. In seeking the promotion of good objects, I have often acted with this in view ; but I feel bound in duty to say to you, Sir, that to gain the good-will of man was the only object I had in view in everything which I did relative to certain writings called ' Clerical Appeal.' I cannot say that I was conscious at the time, certainly not as fully as I am now, that this was the motive by which I was actuated ; but as I now look back upon it, in the light in which it has been of late spread before my own mind, as I doubt not by the Spirit of God, I can clearly see that, in all that matter, I had no true regard for the glory of

God or the good of man. I can see nothing better in it than a selfish and most wicked desire to gain thereby the good opinion of such men as I supposed would be pleased by such movements ; while I can clearly see that I did not consult the will of God or the good of my fellow men in the least, and did indulge towards yourself and others and towards principles which I now see to be according to truth, feelings which both my conscience and my heart now condemn, which I know a holy God never can approve, and which I *rejoice* to think He never will approve " (vol. ii., pp. 335, 336).

The following resolutions passed by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society bear testimony to the strong feeling which prevailed among the true emancipationists against the orthodox clergy and churches :—

"Resolved, that no man who apologises for slavery or refuses to bear an open, and faithful pulpit testimony against it, or who neglects to exert his moral and official influence in favour of the cause of human freedom and the rights of his enslaved fellow men, can have the least claim to be regarded as a minister of Him who came to preach deliverance to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound ; and that for Abolitionists to recognise such men as ministers of Christ, or to aid in supporting them as such, is as inconsistent with their principles, and must be displeasing to God, as it would be for them to support in that capacity a slaveholder, or an open defender of slavery.

"Resolved, that no association of men can have any just claim to be considered a church of Jesus Christ which withholds its sympathy and aid from the oppressed, or which either refuses or neglects to bear its testimony against the awful sin of slavery ; and that Abolitionists are bound by the holy principles they profess, and by their regard

for the rights of their enslaved and imbruted fellow-men, to withhold their support from such associations, and to endeavour to bring the members of them to repentance for the sin of stopping their ears to the cry of the poor" (vol. ii., p. 337).

At Lynn, resolutions were passed declaring "that the indifference or open hostility to anti-slavery principles and measures of most of the *so-called* religious sects, and a great majority of the clergy of the country constitutes the *main obstruction* to the progress of our cause" (vol. ii., p. 338).

Even the Society of Friends came in for a share of well deserved censure.

"Resolved, that the Society of Friends, by shutting its meeting houses against the advocates of the slave, and by its un-Christian attempts to restrain the freedom of such of its members as are Abolitionists, has forfeited all claim to be regarded as an anti-slavery society, and practically identified itself with the corrupt pro-slavery sects of the land" (vol. ii., p. 338).

The controversy concerning women's right to speak and take part in public affairs was revived by an invitation from the newly formed British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to a general conference of "the friends of the slave in every nation and every clime." The call to this "World's Convention," to be held in London in June, 1840, received a warm response from the American Anti-Slavery Societies, which, at once, proceeded to the election of the representatives. These, of course, included Garrison and several of the most distinguished female members of the Societies.

The influence of the New Organisation, however, speedily made itself manifest in a second call from the English Society expressing a desire to receive the names of the *gentlemen* who were to represent

the Anti-Slavery Societies. Joseph Sturge, the founder of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, also wrote deprecating the sending of female delegates, and desiring that it might be discouraged, as it would encounter a strong adverse feeling in England, from which country there would be no female representatives. Notwithstanding this rebuff, the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society proceeded to elect representatives. One of these, Lucretia Mott, had also been chosen to represent the American Society, and therefore went in a double capacity, thus testing to the full the Convention's disposition to "fully and practically recognise, in its organisation and movements, the equal brotherhood of the entire Human Family, without distinction of colour, sex or clime," to quote from one of the resolutions of the American Society (vol. ii., p. 353).

The necessity of attending the anniversary meeting of the Massachusetts Society prevented Garrison from starting at the same time as the other delegates, with the result that the Convention was half over before he reached London. The Women's battle had, therefore, to be fought out without his assistance. They had, however, a staunch champion in Wendell Phillips, who, at once, raised the question of women's right to a seat in the Convention. The English Committee resolved, "that the subject having been brought seriously and deliberately before the committee on the 15th May, it was unanimously determined that ladies were inadmissible as delegates, and it is now again resolved, without a single dissentient voice, that this opinion be confirmed and respectfully communicated to the parties in question" (vol. ii., p. 368).

Wendell Phillips then protested that they "had come to a Convention which would, of course,

settle the qualification of its own members," upon which he was assured that, although termed a World's Convention, it was, in fact, merely a conference with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which, therefore, had the right of deciding whom it would admit.

Nevertheless Phillips persisted in bringing the question before the Convention, whereupon a long and animated debate ensued, resulting in the exclusion of the female delegates.

The Convention had but three more days to sit when Garrison arrived in London. Learning what had taken place, and seeing that it was now too late to re-open the question, he and his two companions resolved to take no part in the Convention from which women were excluded. Remonstrances and entreaties alike failed to shake his resolution, and the founder of the greatest anti-slavery movement in the world remained a silent witness of the World's Convention.

Doubtless this silent protest was not without result. Harriet Martineau wrote to Mrs. Chapman :—

"Garrison was quite right, I think, to sit in the gallery of the Convention. I conclude you think so. It has done much, I am persuaded. You will live to see a great enlargement of our scope of usefulness, I trust, but, what with the vices of some women and the fears of others, it will be hard work to assert our liberty. I will, however, till I die—and so will you—and so make it easier for some few to follow . . . The information brought out at the Convention will do good, I have no doubt, but the knowledge we have obtained of the obvious deficiencies of the members, in the very principles they came to advocate, will surely do more" (vol. ii., p. 378).

And Dr. Bowring, who had spoken at the Con-

ference in favour of the admission of women, subsequently wrote to Garrison :—

"How often have I regretted that this subject was launched with so little combination—so little preparation—so little knowledge of the manner in which it had been entangled by the fears of some and the follies of others. But bear up ! for the coming of those women will form an era in the future history of philanthropic daring. They made a *deep*, if not a wide impression, and have created apostles if as yet they have not multitudes of followers. The experiment was well worth making. It honoured America—it will instruct England. If in some matters of high civilisation you are *behind* in this matter of courageous benevolence how far you are *before* us ! My grateful affections are with them and you " (vol. ii., p. 378).

Daniel O'Connell's views were thus expressed in a letter to Lucretia Mott, afterwards published in the Irish *Liberator* :—

"I readily comply with your request to give my opinion as to the propriety of the admission of the female delegates into the Convention.

"I should premise by avowing, that my first impression was strong against that admission, and I believe I declared that opinion in private conversation. But when I was called upon by you to give my personal decision on the subject, I felt it my duty to investigate the grounds of the opinion I had formed ; and upon that investigation I easily discovered that it was founded upon no better grounds than an apprehension of the ridicule it might excite, if the Convention were to do what is so unusual in England—to admit women to an equal share and right of discussion. I also, without difficulty, recognised that this was an unworthy, and indeed cowardly motive, and I easily overcome its influence.

"My mature consideration of the entire subject convinces me of the right of the female delegates to take their seats in the Convention, and of the injustice of excluding them. I do not care to add that I deem it also impolitic; because, that exclusion being unjust, it ought not to have taken place even if it could also be politic" (vol. ii., p. 379).

The World's Convention probably did more for the cause of women than for that of the slave. "The woman question," wrote Garrison, to his wife, "has been fairly started, and will be canvassed from the Land's End to John O'Groat's House. Already, many excellent and noble minds are highly displeased at the decision of the Convention and denounce it strongly" (vol. ii., p. 382).

Perhaps the best work done by the Convention in the abolition cause was its frank denunciation of the attitude of the American churches in relation to slavery.

After spending two or three weeks in London, Garrison and his American friends made a tour of England, Scotland and Ireland, everywhere receiving an enthusiastic welcome. During this visit, Garrison, ever alive to the needs of suffering humanity, made some keen observations of English customs and of the condition of the people. He was especially struck by the contrast between the luxurious wealth of the upper classes and the abject poverty of the masses. "Slavery out of the question," he wrote, "our country is a century in advance of England on the score of reform, and of general intelligence and morality. We, in New England, scarcely dream of the privileges we enjoy, and the enviable condition in which we are placed, as contrasted with the state of things here" (vol. ii., p. 384).

And again: "I could not enjoy the beautiful

landscapes of England, because of the suffering and want staring me in the face on the one hand, and the opulence and splendour dazzling my vision on the other" (vol. ii., p. 401, note).

His faithfulness in rebuking evil of every kind, wherever it presented itself, may be gathered from the following extracts from his correspondence :—

"On going to the meeting, accompanied by a few friends, I observed a person standing at the door of the chapel, distributing copies of a small placard or handbill. I took one, perused it, put it into my pocket, and resolved to read it to the meeting, without consulting anyone—not even George Thompson, who sat at my right hand on the platform. In the course of my speech, I read it to the meeting in a deliberate and emphatic manner, as well as I knew how; which favour was probably not expected by its author, who signed himself, most inaccurately and improperly, 'A White Slave.' . . .

"The placard was headed, 'Have we no white slaves?' After reading the interrogation, I said in reply: 'No:—broad as is the empire, and extensive as are the possessions of Great Britain, not a single *white slave* can be found in them all'; and then I went on to show the wide difference that exists between the conditions of human beings who are held and treated as chattels personal, and that of those who are only suffering from certain forms of political injustice or governmental oppression . . . 'But,' I said, 'although it is not true that England has any white slaves, either at home or abroad, is it not true that there are thousands of her population, both at home and abroad, who are deprived of their just rights—who are grievously oppressed—who are dying, even in the midst of abundance, of actual starvation?' Yes, and I expressly called

upon British Abolitionists to prove themselves the true friends of suffering humanity abroad, by showing that they were the best friends of suffering humanity at home. I asked 'Are they not so?' The response to this inquiry, from various parts of the chapel, was 'No! No!' 'Then,' I said, 'I am very sorry to hear it—I hope it is not true of all of them—I am sure it is not true of the Abolitionists of the United States, for they sympathise with the oppressed, as well as the enslaved, throughout the world.' More I also said to the same effect.

"They (the operatives and labourers of Great Britain and Ireland) are in a deplorable condition, and should have prompt and ample redress given their wrongs. It was because of my deep sympathy with them, because I had understood that many of those who were so ready to denounce American slavery, refused to give any countenance to measures at home for the relief and elevation of the labouring classes, and I wished to rebuke them—that I read to the Glasgow audience the placard signed 'A White Slave.' I did not stop to inquire of any of those who surrounded me on the platform, whether it would be politic for me to read it; for I was resolved to make it of some service, both to my *enslaved* countrymen at home, and to my *suffering* brethren in England" (vol. ii., pp. 399, 400.)

"We 'sifted into' the minds of those with whom we came in contact, all sorts of 'heresies' and 'extraneous topics,' in relation to Temperance, Non-Resistance, Moral Reform, Human Rights, Holiness, etc., etc.

"On the subject of Non-Resistance, I had very much to say in England, Scotland and the Emerald Isle; especially in view of the monuments and statues erected in honour of naval and military

warriors, and of the numerous castles, and forts, and arsenals, and armed troops, which were everywhere to be seen . . . Some converts were made before our departure, and many minds are labouring with the great question. As the Temperance cause is somewhat unpopular in England, and the great mass of abolitionists there are in the daily habit of using wine, porter and other intoxicating liquors, I said much privately and publicly in favour of total abstinence, and rebuked them faithfully for their criminal indulgence. In short, I did what I could for the redemption of the human race" (vol. ii., p. 409, 410).

("His declining the wine proffered at William Ashurst's led the latter to ask Mr. Garrison's reasons for such a departure from usage. The discussion which ensued ended, upon further reflection, in Mr. Ashurst's becoming a total abstainer on principle" (vol. ii., p. 410, note).

Garrison's interest in the cause of temperance is exemplified by the following—from a letter to Mrs. Garrison :—

"Among the meetings it has been my happiness to attend, was a temperance meeting in Exeter Hall (the largest and most enthusiastic I ever saw), at which that sturdy champion of Irish Liberty, and most wonderful among the statesmen and orators of the age, Daniel O'Connell, made a powerful speech in favour of the doctrine of total abstinence. He was received with a storm of applause that almost shook the building to its foundations. The spectacle was sublime and heart-stirring beyond all power of description on my part. George Thompson, N. P. Rogers and myself addressed the immense concourse, and were flatteringly received.

"It has also been my privilege to attend a similar meeting in Edinburgh. On arriving in

this city on Tuesday afternoon, and carelessly walking through the streets, I observed placards conspicuously posted in various directions, stating that George Thompson, C. L. Remond and W. L. Garrison were in the city and would be present at a temperance meeting that evening, and address the auditory! Though I had not been consulted by anyone on the subject, and was wholly taken by surprise, yet I felt that I could not, as a professed friend of bleeding humanity, as a thorough 'tee-totaller' of fourteen years' standing, as an American citizen, refuse to lift up my voice in favour of the first great moral enterprise which I ever publicly espoused—especially as I was told that, as yet, in Scotland, it had made comparatively small progress, and was generally treated by 'gentlemen of property and standing,' and the priesthood, very much as the anti-slavery cause is by those classes in the United States. Our friends Thompson, Rogers and Remond accompanied me to the meeting, and made excellent speeches. A glorious sight it was to behold! There were about two thousand persons present—and never was there assembled, on any occasion, a more interesting or enthusiastic multitude. On our entering the hall they received us with cheers and deafening applause which were renewed as we severally proceeded to make our addresses. You may form some faint idea of the spirit which animated the crowded assembly, when I tell you that the meeting commenced at seven o'clock in the evening, and did not disperse till two o'clock in the morning! There was no appearance of fatigue or drowsiness to the end, except on the part of sundry little children and infants, who quietly slept in their mothers' arms" (vol. ii., pp. 396, 397).

On his return to America, speaking at a meeting convened by the coloured people of Boston to wel-

come their friend and champion back to his native land, Garrison thus exhorted them :—

“ Now I want the coloured people to sympathise with all who need their sympathy. I want them to call on British Abolitionists to sympathise with the oppressed and suffering classes in their own land. I beseech them to put forth the finger of warning and entreaty to their British friends, in view of all the sufferings of those at hand, even at their doors. I call upon the coloured people to support every unpopular reform the world over—to pity and plead for the poor oppressed Irishmen ; for all who suffer, whether at the South, or on the British shores, or in India. We should, as nations, reciprocate rebukes. And as we send our souls to theirs, freighted with reproof and exhortation, let them meet on the deep, and embrace as angel spirits, and pass on. When they rebuke our manifold national sins, let us also be faithful in rebuking theirs, and then we shall have cancelled the debt ” (vol. ii., p. 408).

CHAPTER VI.

IN the autumn of 1840, a meeting of the friends of Non-resistance was held at Chardon St. Chapel, to consider the expediency of calling a " convention to examine the validity of the views which generally prevail in this country as to the Divine appointment of the first day in the week as a Christian Sabbath, and to inquire into the origin, nature and authority of the institutions of the ministry and the church, as now existing " (vol. ii., p. 422).

Although his name did not appear in the call that followed, in the eyes of the public, and especially of the New Organisation, the editor of the *Liberator* was at the bottom of this new heretical movement. His own feeling on the subject was thus expressed in a letter to his brother-in-law.

" The call for the Sabbath, ministerial and Church Convention, is beginning to make a mighty stir among the priesthood, and even to fill with dismay some of our professed anti-slavery friends. Cowards! Not to know that truth is mightier than error, and that it is darkness, and not light, that is afraid of investigation. Several of our subscribers have already discontinued their papers on account of the publication of the call in the *Liberator*, and more, I suppose, will soon follow their example. The New Hampshire *Panoply*, . . . etc., etc., are out in full blast about it. They attribute it all to me, of course ; some of them

insisting that my name is appended to the call. You will see in the next *Liberator* what they have said. This will be the occasion of a fresh attack on my devoted head, and also upon the *Liberator*, to crush it. But truly none of these things disturb me " (vol. ii., p. 424).

The Convention, which sat for three days without arriving at any definite result, confined its attention to the question of the Sabbath.

Although Garrison opposed the proposition that the Convention should "adopt the Old and New Testaments as the only authentic record of faith and duty," nevertheless he "emphatically remarked, more than once, that he did not see how those who rejected the Scriptures as of divine authority, could properly take part in the discussion, for what did we know in regard to the Sabbath except from the Bible?" "At the opening of the Convention, and on various occasions during the discussion," to use his own words, "I expressly declared that I stood upon the Bible, and the Bible alone, in regard to my views of the Sabbath, the Church and the Ministry—and that I felt if I could not stand triumphantly on that foundation, I could stand nowhere in the universe. My arguments were all drawn from the Bible and from no other source" (vol. ii., p. 425).

Garrison took the negative side in the second proposition: "That the first day of the week is ordained by divine authority as the Christian Sabbath," on the ground that the institution of the Sabbath had been abrogated by the coming of Christ.

The New Organisation, ever ready to discredit Garrison in the eyes of the Abolitionists, at home or abroad, thus reported the event to his friends in London, N. Colver, the author of the letter containing this statement, had himself taken part in

the Convention on precisely the same terms as Garrison, both had participated "as invited and not as inviters, and as strenuous defenders of the Bible doctrine in regard to the Sabbath—as each interpreted it for himself" (vol. ii., p. 429).

"William L. Garrison's influence," he wrote, "is on the wane. He so identifies himself with every infidel fanaticism which floats, as to have lost his hold upon the good. He has recently headed a Convention to inveigh against the Sabbath, the Church and the Ministry. It was affecting to see what a company he had identified himself with—the wildest of the no-marriage Perfectionists, Trancendentalists, and Cape Cod—all in harmonious effort against the Bible as our standard of faith, and especially in denouncing the ministry, etc. I think the anti-slavery cause will ultimately shake itself from that which has been a source of great trouble" (vol. ii., p. 429).

To the assertion: "Garrison has just headed an infidel Convention," contained in a previous letter by the same writer, Garrison replied:—

"Every word, every syllable of this sentence is untrue. No such Convention has been held. I am as strongly opposed to infidelity (as that term is commonly understood) as I am to priestcraft and slavery. My religious sentiments (excepting as they relate to certain outward forms and observances—and respecting these I entertain the views of 'Friends') are as rigid and as uncompromising as those promulgated by Christ Himself. The standard which He has erected is one that I reverence and advocate. In a true estimate of the divine authority of the Scriptures, no one can go beyond me. They are my text-book, and worth all other books in the universe. My trust is in God, my aim to walk in the footsteps of his Son, my rejoicing to be crucified to the world, and the

world to me. So much for the charge of 'infidelity' " (vol. ii., p. 431).

During the year 1841, Garrison was especially active as a lecturer in the anti-slavery cause. The following account of an address delivered by him at Nantucket will give some idea of his marvellous power as a speaker. The narrator, Frederick Douglass, was a fugitive slave, henceforth to shine as an orator among the many excellent speakers in the anti-slavery ranks.

"It was with the utmost difficulty," writes Douglass, "that I could stand erect, or that I could command and articulate two words without hesitation and stammering. I trembled in every limb. I am not sure that my embarrassment was not the most effective part of my speech, if speech it could be called. At any rate, this is about the only part of my performance that I now distinctly remember. The audience sympathised with me at once, and, from having been remarkably quiet, became much excited. Mr. Garrison followed me, taking me as his text; and now, whether *I* had made an eloquent plea in behalf of freedom, or not, his was one, never to be forgotten. Those who had heard him oftenest and known him longest, were astonished at his masterly effort. For the time he possessed that almost fabulous inspiration, often referred to but seldom attained, in which a public meeting is transformed, as it were, into a single individuality, the orator swaying a thousand heads and hearts at once, and, by the simple majesty of his all-controlling thought, converting his hearers into the express image of his own soul. That night there were a thousand Garrisonians in Nantucket" (vol. iii., pp. 18, 19).

Another eye witness reports:—

"When the young man (Douglass) closed, late in the evening, though none seemed to know or to

care for the hour, Mr. Garrison rose to make the concluding address. I think he never before, nor afterwards, felt more profoundly the sacredness of his mission or the importance of a crisis moment to his success. I surely never saw him more deeply, more divinely, inspired. The crowded congregation had been wrought up almost to enchantment during the whole long evening, particularly by some of the utterances of the last speaker, as he turned over the terrible Apocalypse of his experiences in slavery.

"But Mr. Garrison was singularly serene and calm. It was well that he was so. He only asked a few simple, direct questions. I can recall but few of them, though I do remember the first and the last. The first was: "Have we been listening to a thing, a piece of property, or to a man?" "A man! A man!" shouted fully five hundred voices of men and women. "And should such a man be held a slave in a republican and Christian land?" was another question. "No, no! Never, never!" again swelled up from the same voices, like the billows of the deep. But the last was this: 'Shall such a man ever be sent back to slavery from the soil of old Massachusetts?'—this time uttered with all the power of voice of which Garrison was capable, now more than forty years ago. Almost the whole assembly sprang with one accord to their feet and the walls and roof of the Athenæum seemed to shudder with the 'No, no!' loud and long-continued in the wild enthusiasm of the scene. As soon as Garrison could be heard, he snatched the acclaim, and superadded;: 'No!—a thousand times no! Sooner let the lightnings of heaven blast Bunker's Hill monument till not one stone shall be left standing upon another!'" (vol. iii., p. 19, note).

During a week's tour in New Hampshire, under-

taken at the urgent request of N. P. Rogers, who had set his heart on showing the beauties of his native state to his friend Garrison, a characteristic incident occurred, which is also worth relating.

"As we rode through the Notch after friends Beach and Rogers, we were alarmed at seeing *smoke* issue from their chaise-top, and cried out to them that their chaise was afire. We were more than suspicious, however, that it was something worse than that, and that the *smoke* came out of friend Rogers' mouth. And so it turned out. This was before we reached the Notch tavern. Alighting there to water our beasts, we gave him, all round, a faithful admonition. For anti-slavery does not fail to spend its intervals of public service in mutual and searching correction of the faults of its friends. We gave it soundly to friend Rogers—that he, an *Abolitionist*, on his way to an anti-slavery convention, should desecrate his anti-slavery mouth, and that glorious mountain Notch, with a stupefying tobacco weed. As we crossed the little bridge, friend Rogers took out another cigar as if to light it. 'Is it any malady you have got, brother Rogers,' said we to him, 'that you smoke that thing, or is it habit and indulgence merely?' 'It is nothing but habit,' said he, gravely, 'or, I would say, it *was* nothing else,' and he significantly cast the little roll over the railing into the Ammonoosuck. 'A revolution!' exclaimed Garrison, 'a glorious revolution without noise or smoke,' and he swung his hat cheerily about his head. It was a pretty incident, and we joyfully witnessed it and as joyfully record it. It was a vice abandoned, a self-indulgence denied, and from principle. It was quietly and beautifully done. We call on any smoking Abolitionist to take notice and take pattern" (vol. iii., p. 22).

This period of striking intellectual activity

was marked by numerous attempts to realise in practice the new views of truth that were stirring men's souls. Conspicuous among these efforts after a more brotherly manner of life were Noyes' religious community, "Brook Farm," and the Hopedale Community. Several of the leading Abolitionists showed a strong leaning towards some form of communal life. Not so Garrison—and, in general, he evinced much less inclination to adopt any extreme views than many of his coadjutors. We even find him, at this time, putting a check upon some of the extreme and sweeping assertions introduced into the resolutions of the Anti-Slavery Societies.

The close of this year witnessed a new attack on the *Liberator*. Isaac Knapp, whose habits of intemperance, gambling and idleness rendered him unfit to perform his duties as publisher, complained that he had been unfairly deprived of his share in the paper, and declared his intention of starting a "true *Liberator*, under the title of *Knapp's Liberator*." The prime movers in this scheme were three men, more capable, and more hostile than poor Knapp, who, using him as their tool, sought, by this means, to injure the *Liberator* and its editor. Only one issue of the new paper ever appeared.

An address of the Irish people to their countrymen and country-women in America on the subject of slavery, exhorting them to treat the coloured people as equals and brethren, and to unite everywhere with the Abolitionists, awakened great hopes in the abolition mind of securing the adherence of the Irish Americans to their cause. Notwithstanding that the list of 60,000 names appended to the address was headed by that of Daniel O'Connell, and included those of Father Mathew, and other influential men, it failed to arouse any widespread enthusiasm among the Irish-American

population. The Irish Press threw discredit upon the address, and Bishop Hughes, of New York, the foremost Catholic prelate in America, not only called in question its genuineness, but also declared it to be the duty of every naturalised Irishman to resist and repudiate it, whether genuine or not. So the great mass of Irish-Americans continued to support the slave power and even went so far in Philadelphia, as to attack the coloured population, and destroy a hall erected by them for public meetings.

The chief question of interest during the next two or three years was the dissolution of the Union. There was a growing feeling that slavery would not be abolished until the North withdrew its support from the slave states, that is until the Union was dissolved. This view was held very strongly by Garrison, who stigmatised the guilty compromise between the free and slave-holding states as a "Covenant with Death," and "An agreement with Hell."

The question was, of course, freely discussed in the various Anti-Slavery Societies. Such resolutions as the following show the view taken by Garrison and many other Abolitionists.

"Resolved, that the Union of Liberty and Slavery in one just and equal compact, is that which is not in the power of God or man to achieve, because it is a moral impossibility, as much as the peaceful amalgamation of fire and gunpowder; and, therefore, the American Union is such only in form, but not in substance—a hollow mockery instead of a glorious reality.

"Resolved, that if the South be madly bent upon perpetuating her atrocious slave system, and thereby destroying the liberty of speech and of the Press, and striking down the rights of Northern citizens, the time is rapidly approaching when the American

Union will be dissolved in form as it is now in fact " (vol. iii., p. 46).

Throughout the year 1842, the editorial column of the *Liberator* was headed by the declaration : " A repeal of the Union between Northern liberty and Southern slavery is essential to the abolition of the one and the preservation of the other." And the American Anti-Slavery Society adopted as its motto the words : " No Union with slaveholders " (vol. iii., p. 56).

Much of the work connected with the *Liberator* devolved, at this time, upon Edmund Quincy and Mrs. Chapman, owing to the ill-health of the editor. Returning from a lecturing tour to find his children suffering from scarlet fever, he himself was speedily attacked by the same disease in a severe form. Before his strength was fully restored other complaints showed themselves, and he was again rendered unfit for work.

In addition to these troubles, the sad conclusion of his brother's tragic life cast a shadow over Garrison's home. For many years Garrison heard nothing of his elder brother James, who, as a lad, had left home for a sea-faring life ; and, when at last the brothers met, intemperance and a series of almost incredible hardships had reduced the elder to a broken wreck. Having obtained his release from the navy (disease had rendered him practically useless) Garrison took his long lost brother home, and sought by every means in his power to restore him to some degree of health, but all his efforts were in vain. Life-long habits of intemperance proved too strong to be overcome, and, after lingering another three years, James Garrison passed away.

Although slavery was the most frequent topic of the many addresses delivered during these years, other subjects were by no means neglected.

Capital punishment was now added to the list, which already included temperance, peace, the church, worship, the Sabbath and the rights of women. Of the increased enlightenment of Garrison's theological views we have evidence in his review of a recent edition of Tom Paine's theological works.

"Of the millions who profess to believe in the Bible as the inspired word of God," he wrote, "how few there are who have had the wish or the courage to know on what grounds they have formed their opinion! They have been taught that to allow a doubt to arise in their minds on this point would be sacrilegious, and to put in peril their salvation. They must believe in the plenary inspiration of the 'sacred volume,' or they are 'infidels,' who will justly deserve to be 'cast into the lake of fire and brimstone.' Imposture may always be suspected when reason is commanded to abdicate the throne; when investigation is made a criminal act; when the bodies or spirits of men are threatened with pains and penalties if they do not subscribe to the popular belief; when appeals are made to human credulity, and not to the understanding.

"Now, nothing can be more consonant to reason than that the more valuable a thing is, the more it will bear to be examined. If the Bible be, from Genesis to Revelation, divinely inspired, its warmest partisans need not be concerned as to its fate. It is to be examined with the same freedom as any other book, and taken precisely for what it is worth. It must stand or fall on its own inherent qualities, like any other volume. To know what it teaches, men must not stultify themselves, nor be made irrational by a blind homage. Their reason must be absolute in judgment, and act freely, or they cannot know the truth. They are

not to object to what is simply incomprehensible—because no man can comprehend how it is that the sun gives light ; or the acorn produces the oak ; but what is clearly monstrous or absurd, or impossible, cannot be endorsed by reason, and can never properly be made a test of religious faith, or an evidence of moral character.

“ To say that everything contained within the lids of the Bible is divinely inspired, and to insist upon the dogma as fundamentally important, is to give utterance to a bold fiction, and to require the suspension of the reasoning faculties. To say that everything in the Bible is to be believed simply because it is found in that volume is equally absurd and pernicious. It is the province of reason to ‘ search the Scriptures,’ and determine what in them is true, and what false—what is probable and what incredible—what is historically true, and what fabulous —what is compatible with the happiness of mankind, and what ought to be rejected as an example or rule of action—what is the letter that killeth, and what the spirit that maketh alive. When the various books of the Bible were written, or by whom they were written, no man living can tell. This is purely a matter of conjecture ; and as conjecture is not certainty, it ceases to be authoritative. Nor is it of vast consequence, in the eye of reason, whether they to whom the Bible is ascribed wrote it or not ; whether Paul was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews or of any other Epistle which is attributed to him ; whether Moses wrote the Pentateuch, or Joshua the history of his own exploits, or David the Psalms, or Solomon the Proverbs ; or whether the real authors were some unknown persons. ‘ What is writ, is writ,’ and it must stand or fall by the test of just criticism, by its reasonableness and utility, by the probabilities of the case, by historical

confirmation, by human experience and observation, by the facts of science, by the intuition of the spirit. Truth is older than any parchment, and would still exist though a universal conflagration should consume all the books in the world. To discard a portion of Scripture is not necessarily to reject the truth, but may be the highest evidence that one can give of his love of truth" (vol. iii., pp. 145, 146, 147).

These two further quotations will be of interest as throwing light on the gradual development of Garrison's views with regard to the Bible. At the age of twenty-six, he wrote :—

"Take away the Bible, and our warfare with oppression, and infidelity, and intemperance, and impurity and crime is at an end ; our weapons are wrested away—our foundation is removed—we have no authority to speak, and no courage to act" (vol. i., p. 266).

Two years later some of the Abolitionists, objecting to Garrison's statement that "every American citizen who holds a human being in involuntary bondage as his property, is a man-stealer," substituted the words "*is according to Scripture a man-stealer.*"

To this alteration, Garrison objected that it took the "edge off" the allegation, instead of strengthening it. "It raises a Biblical question. It makes the rights of man depend upon a text. Now, it matters not what the Bible may say, so far as these rights are concerned. They never originated in any parchment, are not dependent upon any parchment, but are in the nature of man himself, written upon the human faculties and powers by the finger of God" (vol. i., p. 407, note).

The proposed annexation of Texas caused considerable stir in political as well as Abolitionist circles ; many who were quite content with the

Union as it then existed, being unwilling to allow of the great accession of power to the South which would necessarily result from the admission to the Union of Texas, in which it was proposed to re-establish slavery. In January, 1845, an Anti-Texas Convention, called by political gentlemen,—mostly Whigs—not by Abolitionists, was held at Faneuil Hall. Of this Convention, Edmund Quincy writes : “ The anti-slavery spirit of the Convention was surprising. The address and the speeches of the gentlemen, not Abolitionists, were such as caused Garrison to be mobbed ten years ago, and such as we thought thorough three or four years ago ” (vol. iii., p. 137).

A State Anti-Texas Committee being formed, Garrison consented to become a member, “ as an experiment and to help more clearly to demonstrate the futility of any and every attempt to assail slavery in its incidents and details. The *Slave Power*,” continued Garrison, “ must be attacked and vanquished openly, as such, and no quarter given to it either in the gross or in part. To this conclusion, we are happy to say, the Committee unanimously came ; and this is a sign of the times of no ordinary significance. In what mode it is best to assail that power, the Committee could not as unanimously agree ; but we are every hour more deeply convinced that there is but one mode and one alternative presented to the people of the free states, and that is, to have no *religious nor political union with slave-holders*. On this ground we stand ready to unite again with Whigs, Democrats and Liberty men ; but on nothing short of this can we see any utility in attempting to make effectual resistance to the encroachments of slavery ” (vol. iii., pp. 142, 143).

CHAPTER VII.

IN 1846, Garrison was induced to undertake a third mission to England. The immediate cause of this visit was the unsatisfactory conduct of the Free Church of Scotland in relation to the Southern churches of America. The Free Church, having but recently seceded from the Established Church of Scotland, found itself straitened for want of funds. An appeal was made to the Presbyterian churches in America; to this appeal the churches of Charleston responded with especial liberality, accompanying their contribution by eloquent expressions of sentiment on the subject of "tyranny and oppression." Much to the Free Church's confusion, this transaction was referred to by a Glasgow editor, who exposed the "flashy highsounding, unmeaning words" of the Charleston preacher, and expressed a hope that the blood-stained money would be immediately returned.

But for this course the Free Church was not prepared, the result being that it found itself practically committed to a defence of American slavery.

Garrison was strongly urged to visit Great Britain and take part in the Anti-Slavery agitation to which this incident gave rise. Four months were spent in the old country, renewing old friendships and forming new ones, lecturing and discussing temperance, non-resistance and all his other "heresies."

During this visit an Anti-Slavery League was

formed to co-operate with the American Anti-Slavery Society. Its articles declared :—

1.—“ That slave-holding is, under all circumstances, a sin of the deepest dye, and ought immediately to be abandoned.

2.—“ That the members of this League shall consist of all persons subscribing to the foregoing principles, without respect of country, complexion, or religious or political creeds.

3.—“ That the sole object of the League shall be the overthrow by means exclusively moral and peaceful, of slavery in every land, but with special reference to the system now existing in the United States ” (vol. iii., pp. 159, 160).

Throughout the Mexican war,—the great event of 1847,—the Abolitionists continued to urge the necessity of a peaceful dissolution of the Union.

Invited by the Abolitionists of Ohio to visit their part of the country, Garrison decided to make a lecturing tour in that State, taking New York and Pennsylvania en route. The extreme fatigue, occasioned by incessant travelling and lecturing, culminated in a severe attack of fever, from the effects of which he did not recover for several months.

The abolition cause still continued to make steady progress, the Mexican war giving rise to much discussion in Congress on the subject of slavery.

An Anti-Sabbath Convention, originated by Garrison and Wendell Phillips, met in March, 1848, in Boston. The following extract from the call to this Convention, written by Garrison, is specially worthy of notice :—

“ In publishing this call for an Anti-Sabbath Convention, we desire to be clearly understood. We have no objection either to the first or the seventh day of the week *as a day of rest from bodily*

toil, both for man and beast. On the contrary, *such rest is not only desirable, but indispensable*. Neither man nor beast can long endure unmitigated labour. But we do not believe that it is in harmony with the will of God, or the physical nature of man, that mankind should be doomed to hard and wasting toil six days out of seven to obtain a bare subsistence. Reduced to such a pitiable condition, the rest of one day in the week is indeed grateful, and must be regarded as a blessing; but it is totally inadequate wholly to repair the physical injury or the moral degradation consequent on such protracted labour. It is not in accordance with the law of life that our race should be thus worked, and only thus partially relieved from suffering and a premature death. *They need more and must have more, instead of less rest*; and it is only for them to be enlightened and reclaimed—to put away those things which now cause them to grind in the prison-house of Toil, namely, idolatry, priestcraft, sectarianism, slavery, war, intemperance, licentiousness, monopoly, and the like—in short, to live *in Peace*, obey the eternal law of being, strive for each other's welfare, and 'glorify God in their bodies and spirits which are His'—and they will secure the rest, not only of one day in seven, but of a very large portion of their earthly existence. To them shall be granted the mastery over every day and every hour of time, as against want and affliction; for the earth shall be filled with abundance for all" (vol. iii., pp. 224, 225).

One other extract from the writings of this period is too interesting to be passed over, revealing as it does much that is characteristic in the minds of two leading men. All Garrison's efforts to come into touch with Dr. Channing had, as we have seen, failed, owing to the unresponsive attitude of the doctor. The reading of "Channing's Memoirs"

now led Garrison to modify somewhat his former harsh criticism,—his maturer judgment is expressed in the following words :—

“ My impressions of Dr. Channing were that he was somewhat cold in temperament, timid in spirit and oracular in feeling. But these have been greatly, if not entirely, removed by the perusal of this memoir. I see him now in a new phase—in a better light. He certainly had no ardour of soul, but a mild and steady warmth of character appears to have been natural to him. I do not now think that he was timid, in a condemnatory sense ; but his circumspection was almost excessive, his veneration large, and distrust of himself, rather than fear of others, led him to appear to shrink from an uncompromising application of the principles he cherished. In the theological arena he exhibited more courage than elsewhere ; yet, even there, he was far from being boldly aggressive, for controversy was not to his taste. In striving to be catholic and magnanimous, he was led to apologise for those who deserved severe condemnation. He was reluctant to believe that men sin wilfully, and therefore, preferred to attack sin in the abstract than to deal with it personally. He was ready to condemn the fruit, but not the tree ; for, by a strange moral discrimination, he could separate the one from the other. Hence, his testimonies were not very effective. In the abstract the vilest of men are willing to admit that their conduct is reprehensible ; but, practically, they demand exemption from condemnation . . .

“ He saw with great clearness, and deplored with much sincerity, the horrors of slavery and the injustice of slave-holding ; but he did not like to hear slave-holders denounced, and regarded many of them as worthy of Christian recognition . . . No one ever seemed to be more deeply convinced of

the iniquitous and desolating nature of war than himself; he was fervent in his pleas for peace; yet he held to the right of fighting in what is falsely called self-defence, and therefore failed to lay the axe at the root of the tree. It was so in his treatment of all other popular sins and sinners. He either lacked true moral discrimination, or stern integrity to principle.

"I believe he was a sincere man, and true to his own convictions of duty. I think, as far as he saw the light, he was disposed to walk in the light, however great the peril or startling the consequences. He had in an eminent degree self-respect, which kept him from self-degradation by wilfully doing that which he knew to be wrong. His Memoir impresses me with a deep sense of his purity and uprightness . . .

"We must judge him by the position that he occupied; we must compare him with others who moved in the same sphere of life; otherwise, we shall be liable to undervalue his merits. He was a clergyman,—an office which it is scarcely possible for any man to fill without loss of independence, or spiritual detriment. In his case, it seems to have been merely technical, though he might have made it subservient to personal ambition and selfishness, as thousands of others have done. That he did not do so is something to his credit . . .

"Again—he moved in a wealthy and aristocratic circle, or rather was surrounded by those who are the last to sympathise with outcast humanity, or to believe that any good can come out of Nazareth. To write and speak on the subject of slavery as he did—unsatisfactory as it was to the Abolitionists, who yearned to have him take still higher ground, was—in his position, an act of true heroism and of positive self-sacrifice; and, for a time—extending almost to the hour of his death—cost

him the friendship of many whose good opinions nothing but a sense of duty could induce him to forfeit . . .

“ Much to my regret I had no personal acquaintance with this remarkable man, though I longed for at least a single interview. But the *Liberator* was not to his taste, and my manner of conducting the anti-slavery enterprise seemed to him harsh, repulsive, and positively injurious. As he never expressed a wish to converse with me, I did not feel free to intrude myself upon his notice. For twelve years he saw me struggling against all that was evil in the land—in a cause worthy of universal acclaim—with fidelity and an unfaltering spirit—but during all that time he never conveyed to me, directly or indirectly, a word of cheer, or a whisper of encouragement. Consequently we never met for an interchange of sentiments. Had we done so, though there is no probability that we should have seen eye to eye in all things, we might have been mutually benefited. I am sure that he misjudged my spirit, as well as misapprehended the philosophy of the anti-slavery reform; and now I think that I did not fully appreciate the difficulties of his situation, or the peculiarities of his mind. His mistake was—it amounted almost to infatuation—in supposing that a national evil like that of slavery, two centuries old, which had subdued to itself all the religious and political elements and which held omnipotent sway over the land, could be overthrown without a mighty convulsion, or even much agitation, if wisely and carefully treated. He thought that it was the manner and spirit of the Abolitionists, and not the object they sought to accomplish, that so greatly excited the country, especially the Southern portion of it; and so, to set them a good example—to show them how easily they might propitiate the slave-holders,

while pleading for the emancipation of their slaves—he wrote his work on slavery, the circulation of which was deemed incendiary at the South, and the publication of which caused General Waddy Thompson, of South Carolina, to exclaim, on the floor of Congress, that ‘Dr. Channing was playing second fiddle to Garrison and Thompson.’ This was an instructive experiment to the Doctor, and he did not fail to profit by it” (vol. iii., pp. 239, 240, 241, 242).

It will be remembered that conspicuous among the names attached to the Irish Address, of 1842, was that of Father Mathew, the great apostle of Temperance. Consequently, when this professed friend of the slave visited America, in the interests of the temperance cause, it was but natural that the Abolitionists should confidently expect some public expression of sympathy with the work of emancipation. So a letter inviting him to attend a meeting about to be held in commemoration of the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies, was drawn up and signed by four of the leading Abolitionists. But it was one thing to condemn slavery in Ireland, where the people were universally in favour of emancipation, and quite another to show sympathy with the hated Abolitionists in America. Thus when Garrison and Dr. Bowditch called upon the great man, to welcome him to the shores, and deliver their invitation in person,—they were received with but scant courtesy. No word of sympathy with their work escaped him—no stronger condemnation of slavery than this: “Oh, I am not in favour of slavery—I should never think of advocating it, though I don’t know that we can say there is any specific injunction against it in the Scriptures.” Finally he refused to be diverted from his own particular mission by committing himself, in any way, on the

subject of slavery. The letter of invitation was never even answered.

An account of this interview duly appeared in the *Liberator*. The Press took the subject up—approving for the most part, or excusing Father Mathew's conduct. The Father himself preserved a discreet silence.

An open letter addressed to Father Mathew then appeared in the *Liberator*. In this the editor reminded him how he had called upon his fellow countrymen, "by the most sacred considerations, to use their moral and political power for the abolition of slavery, and to join the Abolitionists, as the only true friends of freedom in the United States," and went on to ask, "What less, as a mark of their gratitude, respect and veneration, could the Abolitionists do, on your arrival here, than to thank you for the noble testimony borne by you at home against American slavery, and to signify to you the importance of your renewing that testimony on this side of the Atlantic?" (vol. iii., p. 255).

Four more letters followed, urging in the strongest terms the importance of Father Mathew using his widespread influence on behalf of the slave, instead of strengthening the hands of their oppressors. The fifth letter concluded thus:—

"How your course is regarded by the cruel oppressors in the South, is plainly indicated by the exultation of the Press in that quarter. They are eager to give you the right hand of fellowship, and are lavish of their praises in your behalf. Such prudence, forecast, and wisdom, as you are displaying, in being dumb on the slavery question, they have always admired and commended. Yet they heartily despise you, beyond all doubt; but the blow you have inflicted on the anti-slavery cause fills them with inexpressible delight.

"It follows, 'as the night the day,' that you have added to the anguish, horror and despair of the poor miserable slaves, made their yokes heavier, and fastened their chains more securely! For, in a struggle like this, and at such a crisis, whatever gladdens the hearts of the slave-mongers must proportionately agonise those of their victims" (vol. iii., p. 258).

The Press and Abolitionists of Great Britain also had much to say on the subject. Still Father Mathew made no sign—but continued his tour of the States, receiving the attentions of slave holders, and advocates of slavery, without expressing the least disapproval of their practices.

The sudden death of one of Garrison's children, under exceptionally painful circumstances, called forth expressions of sympathy from many friends on both sides of the Atlantic. Among these was the English Quakeress, Elizabeth Pease, a constant correspondent of the leading Abolitionists. In the course of his reply to her letter of sympathy, Garrison, while confessing that the death of his boy had been a "staggering blow," gave expression to the following views on the subject of death:—

"Death itself to me is not terrible, is not repulsive, is not to be deplored. I see in it as clear an evidence of Divine wisdom and beneficence as I do in the birth of a child, in the works of creation, in all the arrangements and operations of nature. I neither fear nor regret its power. I neither expect nor supplicate to be exempted from its legitimate action. It is not to be chronicled among calamities; it is not to be styled 'a mysterious dispensation of Divine Providence'; it is scarcely rational to talk of being resigned to it. For what is more natural—what more universal—what more impartial—what more serviceable—what more desirable: in God's own time, hastened neither by our igno-

ance or our folly ? Discarding, as I do, as equally absurd and monstrous, the theological dogma that death settles for ever the condition of those who die, whether for an eternity of bliss or misery, for the deeds done here in the body—and believing, as I do, without wavering, in the everlasting progression of the human race, in the ultimate triumph of infinite love over finite error and sinfulness, in the fatherly care and boundless goodness of that Creator ‘whose tender mercies are over all the works of His hands,’ I see nothing strange, appalling, or even sad in death” (vol. iii., p. 263, 264).

Elizabeth Pease was the recipient of another most interesting letter, from which we must quote at some length. Several articles had appeared in the *Liberator*, from the pen of H. C. Wright, and others, on the subject of the Bible. Although himself taking no part in the controversy, Garrison had manifested his sympathy with the more advanced views and had avowed his disbelief in the inspiration of the Scriptures, in the Mosaic cosmogony as being unscientific, and in the atonement. He regarded the Bible as “a mighty obstacle in the way of the reconciliation of the rival sects of the day,” nor saw “how it could be taken out of the way so long as that Book is appealed to as absolute and final, in matters of faith and practice” (vol.iii., p. 266).

This attack upon the Bible greatly distressed some of Garrison’s warmest supporters—E. Pease among the number. She confessed that, although the *Liberator* was the most interesting paper she received yet she felt it a serious thing to circulate it, while it contained so much “false doctrine.” She even feared to leave copies of the paper about lest their perusal should imperil the everlasting salvation of chance readers.

"My Dear Friend," wrote Garrison in reply, "you and Henry Vincent are certainly wrong in this matter. You are troubled where you ought to be serene; you are alarmed at what ought to make your repose perfect; you are not acting naturally; you occupy, in regard to these things, a sandy foundation; and therefore your anxiety, trepidation, grief! Come now let us reason together, and see if it be not so . . .

"You do not dislike to see both sides of the slavery question presented; and you would smile at the idea of secreting the *Liberator* because it contains many pro-slavery articles which might injuriously affect some minds. You are not troubled on seeing both sides of the peace and non-resistance question argued in its columns, but rejoice in proportion to the activity of its discussion—do you not? You are not alarmed when you see articles freely admitted, *pro* and *con*, into a publication on the subject of temperance. Neither you nor Henry Vincent would think of remonstrating against the utterance of sentiments in favour of religious intolerance, provided no gag were put into the mouths of the advocates of religious liberty.

"But why are you willing that these things should be freely discussed? Simply because you are persuaded that your views of Anti-slavery, peace, temperance, religious liberty, etc., are based on a solid foundation and cannot be successfully overthrown; nay, the more they are attacked, the more truthful you think they will appear. Just so! Hence you invite, solicit, demand the most thorough inquiry into their validity. But the slave-holder, the warrior, the rum-drinker, the bigot do not like to see their views on slavery, war, temperance and religious liberty brought into the arena of free debate; they are one-sided, and

dread nothing so much as a fair field and no quarter."

"Now, what is true with regard to one subject or question is equally true in regard to every other. Whoever holds to an opinion or sentiment which he is not pleased to see dealt with boldly and searchingly, gives evidence that he is conscious that it will not bear such treatment, or that he has taken it upon trust, usage, parental, educational, traditional authority, and not upon his own clear-wrought, unbiassed convictions. Is it not so? Who shall presume to say to another, in regard to the examination of any creed, book, ordinance, day or form of government—of anything natural or reputedly miraculous—'Thus far shalt thou go but no farther?' Beloved friend, are you not in just this state of mind, in regard to certain subjects the discussion of which you so much deplore? How is this to be accounted for? I will tell you.

"You were born a member of the Society of Friends; your religious opinions you received upon authority, and you accepted them as a matter of course, sincerely, trustingly, as I did mine, and nine-tenths of those who are born in Christendom do. Your theological views of man's depravity, the atonement, eternal punishment, the divinity of Christ, the inspiration of the Bible, etc., you received as confidently as you did your Quaker views of peace, anti-slavery, temperance, etc., only the latter you have advocated and carried out to an extent much beyond the ordinary teachings of Quakerism on these points. But the latter views are true, and susceptible of the clearest demonstration; and their examination you court. The former are all wrong (in my judgment, I mean, though I was brought up to believe them), admit of no satisfactory proof, much less of demonstration; and a free examination of them gives you

positive uneasiness! Your peace and Anti-slavery views commend themselves to your understanding, your conscience, and your heart; perhaps you will discover that your theological views have really little to do with your understanding, your conscience or your heart, independently and absolutely, like the others—pardon my frankness—for if they had, it seems to me you would no more be startled to see an impartial discussion of them in the *Liberator*, or any other periodical conducted on the same principle, than you now are to see pro-slavery and anti-peace sentiments admitted into its columns along with those of an opposite spirit. Is there any flaw in this reasoning? Is not the parallel perfect, the analogy exact, the illustration pertinent, the conclusion inevitable? . . .

“My worthy friend at—comes right to the point in her letter, of which the following is the introductory paragraph:—

“‘My Dear Sir, I am sorry to say that I cannot read the *Liberator* any longer . . . Ever since the Sabbath and Scripture questions were brought forward, I have read it only to *mourn over it*. I know the Bible and the Author of it so well (?) that I have not any fears for my own sentiments being injured. But I cannot put it into the hands of my family, because I consider its sentiments on these points calculated to bring forth the grapes of Sodom, and the apples of Gomorrah . . .’

“God forbid,” proceeds Garrison, “that I should ever take such responsibility upon myself—that I should ever bring my children up in this onesided manner. The one distinct and emphatic lesson which I shall teach them is, to take nothing upon mere authority—to dare to differ in opinion from their father and from all the world—to understand, as clearly as possible, what can be said against or in favour of any doctrine or practice, and then

to accept or reject it according to their own convictions of duty . . .

"I beg you and my other English friends to bear constantly in your minds the fact, that the discussion of these questions has been forced upon us by the enemies of the anti-slavery and non-resistance movements. Their constant cry has been that we are desecrating the Sabbath in pleading the cause of the slave on that day, and mixing up secular with holy affairs . . .

"Again, in opposing our non-resistance doctrines, our opponents have resorted to the Bible, and thought to silence us by triumphantly referring to the exterminating wars recorded in the Old Testament as expressly commanded by Jehovah. It was not conclusive for us to reply, that what was obligatory once is not necessarily so now—that Christ has superseded Moses, and now forbids all war; for the answer was: 'If, as you assert, war is, like slavery, idolatry and the like, inherently wrong, a *malum in se*, how could it be enjoined by a sin-hating God in the days of Moses, unless his moral character is mutable?' Our answer to this is: Whoever or whatever asserts that the Creator has required, and may still require, one portion of his children to butcher another portion for any purpose whatever, is libelling His goodness, and asserting what everything in nature contradicts. This position we believe to be impregnable" (vol. iii., pp. 266, 267, 268-270).

The scenes of 1835, when Garrison was nearly torn in pieces by a mob of Boston gentlemen, were like to have been re-enacted in New York in 1850. For a week before the anniversary meeting of the American Anti-slavery Society, the New York *Herald* contained a series of inflammatory articles, daily increasing in violence, inciting the populace to silence the Abolitionists.

In accordance with these suggestions, Captain Rynders, a notorious bully, supported by a band of ruffians, sought to gain possession of the meeting. The calmness, self-possession and forbearance of the Abolitionists proved, however, more than a match for New York ruffianism, and the ready wit and eloquence of two coloured speakers secured a signal victory for the non-resistants.

In 1850, the Northern States were again disturbed in their guilty compliance with the slave power by the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law. Prominent men, clergy as well as lay men, refused to obey the injunction to deliver up the fugitives, whom their masters were already hunting throughout the North. Active measures were taken to prevent their re-capture, and to facilitate the escape to Canada of the thousands of negroes, who now fled in terror from the 'free' states.

It was in the midst of this agitation that George Thompson landed at Boston, whence he had, with difficulty, made his escape fifteen years before. His eight months' visit to America enabled him to witness several attempts to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law, which was, in fact, the precursor of the Civil War. He was also present at the meeting held to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the *Liberator*.

Garrison's interest in the position of women was again manifested, in connection with the Woman's Rights Convention, held at Worcester, Massachusetts in 1850. At a preliminary meeting in Boston, he spoke strongly in favour of the enfranchisement of women.

"I am not pleading here," he said, "as one very fond of voting. I am a disfranchised man, not because I do not believe in voting, but because I cannot vote under the United States Constitution, believing it to be unholy, knowing it to be a

compromise with slavery . . . I am just as anxious that women should be allowed to vote as if I voted every day. I hate the law that disfranchises women ! It is not for me or for any man dogmatically to judge as to what is or what is not a sinful act, or to say to others you shall not exercise the right to think for yourselves.

"There is a law of the United States which says that no coloured man shall be enrolled in the Militia of this country. Now, I abhor the militia, I believe the whole military system is satanic. I do not want to see any black man enrolled in it. But I hate that law of Congress proscribing the coloured man on account of his colour just as I loathe a rattle-snake. It is a proscriptive spirit that has made that exception. I want the coloured man to judge for himself whether he shall train or not. I want no opprobrium thrown upon him on account of his complexion. So with regard to women. I want the women to have the right to vote, and I call upon them to demand it perseveringly until they possess it. When they have obtained it, it will be for them to say whether they will exercise it or not . . .

"I wish I could see one-half of the members of Congress women. I wish I could see one-half of the members of Legislature women. They are entitled to this. I am quite sure—I think I hazard nothing in saying—that the legislation of our country would be far different from what it is" (vol. iii., p. 310).

Garrison subsequently attended, and took an active part in the Convention.

CHAPTER VIII.

IN 1851, there landed in New York another distinguished foreigner, who was destined, when tried by the abolition test, to be found wanting.

The Hungarian patriot Kossuth had for some years excited much sympathy in the United States, not least in the slave-holding portion of the Union. Already in 1849, Garrison had called attention to this "national hypocrisy." He had also written of Kossuth: "He is strictly local, territorial, national. The independence of Hungary alone absorbs his thoughts and inspires his efforts; and to obtain it, he feels justified (*i.e.* by the laws of war) in disregarding the claims of humanity and suspending all the obligations of morality" (vol. iii., p. 340). Garrison wrote this, though not foreseeing that these words would exactly express Kossuth's relation to slavery and the Abolitionists, as soon as he consented to make his appeal to a slave-holding nation.

In replying to the United States' offer of a vessel, by means of which he and his fellow exiles might effect their escape from Turkey, Kossuth had addressed his American sympathisers in such terms as these:—

"May your great example, noble Americans, be to other nations the source of social virtues; your power be the terror of all tyrants, the protector of the distressed, and your free country ever con-

tinue to be the asylum of the oppressed of all nations" (vol. iii., p. 341).

The Abolitionists, anticipating the inevitable result, if the Hungarian patriot accepted the hospitality of a nation of slaveholders, wrote to the friends of liberty in England, imploring them to open his eyes to the true state of affairs: "Save him, save him!" wrote H. C. Wright. "Tell him of American slavery. He is lost to himself and the friends and cause of liberty in all coming time, if he lands on this slavery-cursed shore."

"Here lies Kossuth—the American slaveholder," must be his epitaph if he touches our shore! and again: "Slave catchers will do by him as they have done, successfully, by Theobald Mathew—avail themselves of his world-wide fame and influence to prop up American slavery" (vol. iii. pp. 342, 343).

Accordingly, during Kossuth's visit to England, his friends and admirers in this country duly warned him of the dangers he would incur if his purpose of visiting America were carried into effect, copies of the Fugitive Slave Law and Weld's "Slavery as it is," being at the same time placed in his hands.

Information and advice were alike unavailing—turning a deaf ear to these friendly warnings, Kossuth sailed for New York,—and, on his arrival, thus expressed his attitude towards America's "peculiar institution."

"I take it to be the duty of honour and principle not to meddle with whatever party question of your own domestic affairs . . . May others delight in the part of knight-errant for theories. It is not my case. . . I am the man of the great principle of the sovereignty of every people to dispose of its own domestic concerns; and I most solemnly deny to every foreigner, to every foreign

power, the right to oppose the sovereign faculty" (vol. iii., p. 344).

"The die is cast," wrote Garrison. "All speculation is now at an end as to the position Kossuth means to maintain on the slavery question in the United States. He means to be deaf, dumb and blind in regard to it . . . It is not for him to 'meddle' with anything in this country—not even so far as to express an opinion. Oh, no! But he enforces it upon us as a religious duty to interpose nationally for the liberation of Hungary, by threatening Austria and Russia that, if they do not stand aloof and let the Hungarians do as they please in the management of their own affairs, we will add to our threats blows, and let slip the dogs of war! Beautiful consistency! O, this is pitiable!" (vol. iii., p. 345).

And again, in a "Letter to Louis Kossuth concerning Freedom and slavery in the United States," one of his finest literary productions—Garrison traced the downfall of the Patriot. One short extract must serve as an example of his line of argument.

" 'The cause of the solidarity of human rights,' which you have come 'to plead before the great republic of the United States' is not Hungarian, but universal. A people who aim or desire to be saved at the expense, or to the detriment of any other, is undeserving of salvation. This land is too full of compromisers and trimmers to need your presence to teach us how to do evil that good may come. What we need, what the world demands, is, an illustrious example of fidelity to the principles of liberty in their application, not merely to one but to all races and lands. You cannot be too true to Hungary; but you ought not, for her sake, to be false to America—and false you will be, if you fail to rebuke her for her atrocious system of

slavery. The fact that her soil is stained with blood ; that there is no other institution to which she clings with so much tenacity as to that of slavery ; that your welcome depends upon your silence where even the very stones should cry out ; that the universal sympathy which is expressed for your oppressed countrymen would instantly be turned to rage, and thus proved to be spurious—this fact alone would make you faithful and fearless, instead of timid and parasitical, if ‘God the Almighty’ had selected you ‘to represent the cause of humanity’ before us” (vol. iii., pp. 354, 355).

The appearance of “Uncle Tom’s Cabin,” in 1852, called forth an appreciative review in the *Liberator*. The following application of the principle of Non-resistance is interesting :—

“We are curious to know whether Mrs. Stowe is a believer in the duty of non-resistance for the white man, under all possible outrage and peril, as well as for the black man ; whether she is for self-defence on her own part, or that of her husband or friend or country, in case of malignant assault, or whether she impartially disarms all mankind in the name of Christ, be the danger or suffering what it may. We are curious to know this because our opinion of her, as a religious teacher, would be greatly strengthened or lessened as the inquiry might terminate.

“That all the slaves of the South ought, ‘if smitten on the one cheek to turn the other also,’—to repudiate all carnal weapons, shed no blood, ‘be obedient to their masters,’ wait for a peaceful deliverance, and abstain from all insurrectionary movements—is everywhere taken for granted, because the *victims are black*. They cannot be animated by a Christian spirit, and yet return blow for blow, or conspire for the destruction of their

oppressors. *They* are required by the Bible to put away all wrath, to submit to every conceivable outrage without resistance, to suffer with Christ, if they would reign with Him. None of their advocates may seek to inspire *them* to imitate the example of the Greeks, the Poles, the Hungarians, our Revolutionary sires; for such teaching would evince a most un-Christian and blood-thirsty disposition. For them there is no hope of heaven unless *they* give the most literal interpretations to the non-resisting injunctions contained in the Sermon on the Mount, touching the treatment of enemies . . . Nothing can be plainer than that such conduct is obligatory upon them; and when, through the operations of divine grace, they are enabled to manifest a spirit like this, it is acknowledged to be worthy of great commendation, as in the case of 'Uncle Tom.' But for those whose skin is of a different complexion, the case is materially altered. When they are spit upon and buffeted, outraged, and oppressed, talk not then of a non-resisting Saviour—it is fanaticism! Talk not of overcoming evil with good—it is madness! Talk not of peacefully submitting to chains and stripes—it is base servility! Talk not of servants being obedient to their masters—let the blood of the tyrants flow! How is this to be explained or reconciled? Is there one law of submission and non-resistance for the black man, and another law of rebellion and conflict for the white man? When it is the whites that are trodden in the dust, does Christ justify them in taking up arms to vindicate their rights? And when it is the blacks that are thus treated, does Christ require them to be patient, harmless, long-suffering and forgiving? And are there two Christs?" (vol. iii., pp. 361, 362).

The commencement of Garrison's acquaintance with Harriet Beecher Stowe, dates from about this

time, and was followed some months later by a correspondence on the subject of Garrison's attitude towards the Bible and orthodox religion. To Mrs. Stowe's expostulations, Garrison replied as follows :—

" You say it is on the Bible you ground all your hopes of the liberties, not only of the slave, but of the whole human race. How does it happen, then, that in a nation professing to place as high an estimate upon that volume as yourself, and denouncing as infidels all who do not hold it equally sacred, there are three millions and a half of chattel slaves, who are denied its possession under severe penalties? Is not slavery sanctioned by the Bible, according to the interpretation of it by the clergy generally, its recognised expounders? What, then, does the cause of bleeding humanity gain by all this veneration for the book?

" My reliance for the deliverance of the oppressed universally is upon the nature of man, the inherent wrongfulness of oppression, the power of truth, and the omnipotence of God—using every rightful instrumentality to hasten the jubilee" (vol. iii., p. 401).

These theological questions had again been brought to the front by a Bible Convention, in which Garrison took an active part. His present attitude towards the Bible controversy is well expressed in the resolutions, drawn up by him, for this Convention.

"1st.—Resolved, that the doctrine of the American church and priesthood, that the Bible is the word of God; that whatever it contains was given by divine inspiration; and that it is the only rule of faith and practice, is self-evidently absurd, exceedingly injurious both to the intellect and soul, highly pernicious in its application, and a stumbling block in the way of human redemption.

2nd.—Resolved, that this doctrine has too long been held as a potent weapon in the hands of time-serving commentators and designing priests, to beat down the rising spirit of religious liberty, and to discourage scientific development—to subserve the interests of blind guides and false teachers, and to fill all Christendom with contention and strife; and therefore the time has come to declare its untruthfulness, and to unmask those who are guilty of this imposture.

3rd.—Resolved, that 'the word of God is not bound,' either within the lids of any book, or by any ecclesiastical edict; but, like its Divine Author, was before all books, and is everywhere present, and from everlasting to everlasting—ever enunciating the same law, and requiring the same obedience, being 'quick and powerful and sharper than any two edged sword,'—the Bible itself being witness.

4th.—Resolved, that it is a secondary question as to when, where, or by whom the books of the Old and New Testaments were written; but the primary and all-important question is, what do they teach and command? And in order to ascertain this, they are to be as freely examined, and as readily accepted or rejected, as any other books, according as they are found worthless or valuable" (vol. iii., p. 386).

Two other Conventions were held during this year (1853)—A World's Temperance Convention, from which women were excluded, and a Woman's Rights Convention.

The Woman's Movement, which was now making considerable progress, was, nevertheless, exciting a great deal of opposition—popular as well as clerical.

"I have seen many tumultuous meetings in my day," wrote Garrison, "but I think on no occasion

have I ever seen anything more disgraceful to our common humanity than when Miss Brown attempted to speak upon the platform of the World's Temperance Convention, in aid of the glorious cause which had brought that Convention together. It was an outbreak of passion, contempt, indignation, and every vile emotion of the soul, throwing into the shade almost everything coming from the vilest of the vile that I have ever witnessed on any occasion or under any circumstances; venerable men, claiming to be holy men, the ambassadors of Jesus Christ, losing all self-respect and transforming themselves into the most unmannerly and violent spirits, merely on account of the sex of the individual who wished to address the assembly" (vol. iii., p. 391).

Garrison's own views are concisely expressed in these words:—

"I have been derisively called a 'Woman's Rights Man.' I know no such distinction. I claim to be a *Human Rights Man*; and wherever there is a human being I see God-given rights inherent in that being, whatever may be the sex or complexion" (vol. iii., p. 390).

The following resolution passed by the Woman's Rights Convention was also drawn up by Garrison:—

"Resolved, that the natural rights of one human being are those of every other, in all cases equally sacred and inalienable; hence the boasted 'Rights of Man,' about which we hear so much, are simply the Rights of Woman, of which we hear so little; or, in other words, they are the Rights of Humanity, neither affected by, nor dependent upon, sex or condition" (vol. iii., pp. 391, 392).

The passing in 1854 of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, by which upwards of 400,000 square miles of territory, formerly dedicated to freedom, were

thrown open to slavery, changed considerably the general feeling of the North towards the Abolitionists; and the influence of the latter is seen in the passing of the Massachusetts Personal Liberty Law.

This was an Act to protect the rights and liberties of the people and the commonwealth of Massachusetts, and "was designed to frustrate the purposes of the Fugitive Slave Law, by placing obstacles in the way of the recovery of fugitive slaves, and the kidnapping of free negroes."

The events of this exciting period—when the free staters in Kansas were arming in self-defence against the hordes of degraded men whom the slave power was pouring into the state—were well calculated to test the peace principles of the Abolitionists. Garrison's faith, however, never wavered, and in 1856, he presided at a New England Non-resistance Convention. His message was ever the same, the necessity for a peaceful dissolution of the Union.

The murderous pro-slavery inroads into Kansas, inducing the free-staters to appeal to their Northern brethren for help in money and arms, provoked such men as Henry Ward Beecher and Theodore Parker to open their churches to meetings for the donation of rifles. In reply to the declaration of the former that, "you might just as well read the Bible to buffaloes as to those fellows who follow Atchison and Stringfellow," Garrison wrote:—

"Is it not to be sorely pressed, yea, to yield the whole ground, to represent any class of our fellow-creatures as being on the same level as wild beasts? To such a desperate shift does the slave-holder resort, to screen himself from condemnation. The negroes, he avers, are an inferior race—a connecting link between men and monkeys—and therefore it is folly to talk of giving them liberty and equal rights.

“ For our own part we deeply compassionate the miserable and degraded tools of the slave propagandists, who know not what they do, and (as Mr. Beecher correctly says), are raked together from the purlieu of a frontier slave state, drugged with whiskey, and hounded on by broken-down and desperate politicians. But they are far less blameworthy than their employers and endorsers. To a great extent they are the victims of a horribly false state of society in Missouri, and, no doubt, fearfully depraved ; yet they are not beasts, not to be treated as beasts. Convince us that it is right to shoot anybody, and our perplexity would be to know where to begin—whom first to despatch, as opportunity might offer. We should have to make a clean sweep of the President and his cabinet . . . the conductors of such papers as the *New York Journal of Commerce*, *Observer*, *Express*, *Herald*, and the satanic press universally. These are the intelligent, responsible and colossal conspirators against the liberty, peace, happiness and safety of the public, whose guilt cannot easily be exaggerated. Against their treasonable course our moral indignation burns like fire, though we wish them no harm ; only we are sure that they are utterly without excuse.

“ Mr. Beecher says, ‘ we know that there are those who will scoff at the idea of holding a sword or rifle, in a Christian state of mind.’ He will allow us to shrink from such an idea without scoffing. We know not where to look for Christianity if not to its founder ; and taking the record of His life and death, of His teaching and example, we can discover nothing which even remotely, under any conceivable circumstances, justifies the use of the sword or rifle on the part of His followers ; on the contrary, we find nothing but self-sacrifice, willing martyrdom (if need be) peace and good-will

and the prohibition of all retaliatory feelings, enjoined upon all who would be His disciples. When He said: 'Fear not those who kill the body,' He broke every deadly weapon. When He said: 'My kingdom is not of this world, else would My servants fight that I should not be delivered to the Jews,' He plainly prohibited war in self-defence, and substituted martyrdom therefor. When He said: 'Love your enemies,' He did not mean, 'kill them, if they go too far.' When He said, while expiring on the cross, 'Father forgive them; for they know not what they do,' He did not treat them as 'a herd of buffaloes,' but as poor, misguided and lost men. We believe in His philosophy; we accept His instructions; we are thrilled by His example; we rejoice in His fidelity. How touching is the language of James!—'Ye have condemned and killed *the just*; and *he doth not resist you*.' And how melting to the soul is the declaration: 'He was led as a lamb to the slaughter!' And again: 'God commendeth his love towards us in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us'" (vol. iii., pp. 436, 437, 438).

In view of the coming presidential election, when many lovers of freedom were supporting the Republican candidate Frémont, Garrison thus admonished his Abolitionist friends:—

"What then is our duty as Abolitionists in the present crisis. First, what is it not?

"It is not to abandon our principles, for they are immutable and eternal. It is not to lessen our demands, for they are just and right. It is not to lose sight of, or postpone to a more favourable period, the glorious object we have ever had in view,—to wit, the total and immediate extinction of slavery,—for that would be fatuity. It is not to substitute the non-extension for the abolition of slavery, for this would be to wrestle with an effect,

while leaving the cause untouched—to seek to avert the penalty of sin, while allowing the sin itself to go unrepented of. It is not to lower our standard in order to propitiate the time-serving and cowardly or to carry any measure, however desirable, for this would be a certain defeat. It is not to concentrate our forces upon any geographical or side issue with the Slave Power, for this would be a fatal diversion. It is not to plead for the white labourer, to the forgetfulness of the black labourer, nor to concern ourselves exclusively with consecrating to freedom any particular portion of the American soil, for ours is neither a complexional nor a sectional movement. It is not to act upon the jesuitical maxim, that the end sanctifies the means, for this is the all-corrupting sin in every part of this rebellious world. It is not to seek what is most available for the hour, or temporary success upon a false basis, for this is to rely upon numbers and not upon God—upon policy, and not upon principle” (vol. iii., p. 444).

The election of a pro-slavery president—in 1856—involving “four years more of pro-slavery government and a rapid increase in the hostility between the two sections of the Union”—led to the call for a state Convention “to consider the practicability, probability and expediency of a separation between the Free and Slave States, and to take such other measures as the condition of the times may require” (vol. iii., p. 450).

In the course of his speech at this Convention Garrison thus expressed his views on the subject of dis-union :—

“I do not marvel at the general hesitancy which I find in the community to come up to the high position of demanding a dissolution of the Union. I remember how men are born, and how they are bred. I know, in regard to my own case, with what

tenacity I clung to this Union, inspired by the patriotic feelings of my early days, and never dreaming that anything would ever separate me from it, or lead me to desire its dissolution. Men do not change the institutions which have come down to them from the past lightly, or for transient reasons. They must be placed in a trying emergency,—they must feel a strong moral obligation pressing upon them,—they must clearly perceive some great impending evil to be shunned, some great good to be gained,—before they will go into revolution, whether it be physical revolution, attended with the shedding of human blood, or a moral revolution attended with the loss of friends and popularity and the sacrifice of worldly interests . . .

“My reasons for leaving the Union are, first, because of the nature of the bond. I would not stand here a moment, were it not that this is with me a question of absolute morality—of obedience to ‘the higher law.’ By all that is just and holy, it is not optional whether you or I shall occupy the ground of Disunion. It is not a matter of political expediency or policy, or even of incongruity of interests between the North and the South. It strikes deeper, it rises higher than that. This is the question. Are we of the North not bound in a Union with slaveholders, whereby they are enabled to hold four millions of our countrymen in bondage, with all safety and impunity? . . . My difficulty therefore is a moral one. The Union was formed at the expense of the slave population of the land. I cannot swear to uphold it. As I understand it, they who ask me to do so, ask me to do an immoral act—to stain my conscience—to sin against God. How can I do this?” (vol. iii., pp. 452, 453, 456).

The growing conviction that war was inevitable is conveyed in the last of the resolutions passed by the Convention.

“ Resolved, that the sooner the separation takes place, the more peaceful it will be ; but that peace or war is a *secondary consideration*, in view of our present perils. Slavery must be conquered, ‘ peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must ’ ” (vol. iii., p. 457).

Although sharing this conviction, Garrison still urged his fellow Abolitionists to hold fast to their original principles.

“ When the Anti-slavery cause was launched,” he said, “ it was baptised in the spirit of peace. We proclaimed to the country and the world that the weapons of our warfare were not carnal, but spiritual, and we believed them to be mighty through God to the pulling down, even of the stronghold of slavery ; and for several years great moral power accompanied our cause wherever presented. Alas ! in the course of the fearful developments of the Slave Power, and its continued aggression on the rights of the people of the North, in my judgment a sad change has come over the spirit of Anti-slavery men, generally speaking. We are growing more and more warlike, more and more disposed to repudiate the principles of peace, more and more disposed to talk about ‘ finding a point in the neck of the tyrant,’ and breaking that neck, ‘ cleaving tyrants down from the crown to the groin,’ with the sword which is carnal, and so inflaming one another with the spirit of violence and for a bloody work. Just in proportion as this spirit prevails, I feel that our moral power is departing and will depart. I say this not so much as an Abolitionist as a man. I believe in the spirit of peace, and in sole and absolute reliance on truth and the application of it to the hearts and consciences of the people. I do not believe that the weapons of liberty ever have been, or ever can be the weapons of despotism. I

know that those of despotism are the sword, the revolver, the cannon, the bombshell; and, therefore, the weapons to which tyrants cling, and upon which they depend, are not the weapons for me, as a friend of liberty. I will not trust the war spirit anywhere in the universe of God, because the experience of six thousand years proves it not to be at all reliable in such a struggle as ours . . .

"I pray you, Abolitionists, still to adhere to that truth. Do not get impatient; do not become exasperated, do not attempt any new political organisation; do not make yourselves familiar with the idea that blood must flow. Perhaps blood will flow—God knows, I do not; but it shall not flow through any counsel of mine. Much as I detest the oppression exercised by the Southern slave-holder, he is a man sacred before me. He is a man, not to be harmed by my hand nor with my consent. He is a man, who is grievously and wickedly trampling upon the rights of his fellow men; but all I have to do with him is to rebuke his sin, to call him to repentance, to leave him without excuse for his tyranny. He is a sinner before God—a great sinner; yet, while I will not cease reprobating his horrible injustice, I will let him see that in my heart there is no desire to do him harm,—that I wish to bless him here and bless him everlastingly,—and that I have no other weapon to wield against him but the simple truth of God, which is the great instrument for the overthrow of all iniquity, and the salvation of the world" (vol. iii., pp. 473, 474).

CHAPTER IX.

As the abolition movement became more and more a national movement, the history of the Abolitionists was necessarily merged in the political history of their time and nation,—and to trace the events of this stirring period is no part of our purpose. We must, therefore, be content henceforth to quote from Garrison's writings such short passages as serve to reveal the more characteristic thoughts and opinions of the writer.

The defeat and capture of John Brown at Harper's Ferry, together with his subsequent execution, called forth sentiments similar to those elicited by the death of Lovejoy some years previously; nevertheless the feeling expressed by the public at large differed considerably in the two cases. To use Garrison's words:—

“The sympathy and admiration now so widely felt for him prove how marvellous has been the change effected in public opinion during thirty years of moral agitation—a change so great indeed, that whereas, ten years since, there were thousands who could not endure my lightest word of rebuke of the South, they can now easily swallow John Brown whole, and his rifle into the bargain. In firing his gun, he has merely told us what time of day it is. It is high noon, thank God!” (vol. iii., p. 493).

This event “which filled the South with consternation, and drove to its highest pitch the wave

of anti-slavery sentiment in the North," was thus recorded in the *Liberator* :—

"The particulars of a misguided, wild, and apparently insane, though disinterested and well intended effort by insurrection to emancipate the slaves of Virginia, made under the leadership of Captain Brown, alias 'Osawatomie' Brown, may be found on our third page. Our views of war and bloodshed, even in the best of causes, are too well known to need any repeating here; but let no man who glories in the Revolutionary struggle of 1776 deny the right of the slaves to imitate the example of our fathers" (vol. iii., p. 486).

A month later the *Liberator* contained the following :—

"In recording the expressions of sympathy and admiration which are so widely felt for John Brown, whose doom is so swiftly approaching, we desire to say—once for all—that, judging him by the code of Bunker Hill, we think he is as deserving of high-wrought eulogy as any who ever wielded sword or battle axe in the cause of liberty; but we do not, and cannot approve any indulgence of the war spirit. John Brown has, perhaps, a right to a place by the side of Moses, Joshua, Gideon and David; but he is not on the same plane with Jesus, Paul, Peter and John, the weapons of whose warfare were not carnal, though mighty to the pulling down of strongholds. But the professedly Christian church, with all Christendom, rejects our peaceful interpretation of Christianity, and has no right, therefore, to measure him by any higher standard than its own" (vol. iii., pp. 489, 490).

This extract from a speech of Garrison's is also of interest, bearing as it does on the speaker's attitude towards the civil war, which by this period may almost be regarded as having commenced.

"A word upon the subject of peace. I am a non-resistant—a believer in the inviolability of human life, under all circumstances; I, therefore, in the name of God, disarm John Brown, and every slave at the South. But I do not stop there; if I did I should be a monster. I also disarm, in the name of God, every slave holder and tyrant in the world. For wherever that principle is adopted, all fetters must instantly melt, and there can be no oppressed and no oppressor, in the nature of things. How many agree with me in regard to the doctrine of the inviolability of human life? How many non-resistants are there here to-night? (A single voice—'I') There is *one*! Well, then, you who are otherwise, are not the men to point the finger at John Brown and cry 'traitor,'—judging you by your own standard. Nevertheless, I am a non-resistant, and I not only desire, but have laboured unremittingly to effect, the peaceful abolition of slavery, by an appeal to the reason and conscience of every slave holder; yet, as a peace man—an 'ultra' peace man—I am prepared to say: 'Success to every slave insurrection at the South, and in every slave country.' I do not see how I compromise or stain my peace profession in making that declaration. Whenever there is a contest between the oppressed and the oppressor,—the weapons being equal between the parties,—God knows my heart must be with the oppressed, and always against the oppressor. Therefore, whenever commenced, I cannot but wish success to all slave insurrections. I thank God when men who believe in the right and duty of wielding carnal weapons, are so far advanced that they will take those weapons out of the scale of despotism, and throw them into the scale of freedom. It is an indication of progress, and a positive moral growth

it is one way to get up to the sublime platform of non-resistance ; and it is God's method of dealing retribution upon the head of the tyrant. Rather than see men wearing their chains in a cowardly and servile spirit, I would as an advocate of peace much rather see them breaking the head of the tyrant with their chains. Give me, as a non-resistant, Bunker Hill and Lexington and Concord, rather than the cowardice and servility of a Southern slave-plantation " (vol. iii., pp. 491, 492).

The conduct of Abraham Lincoln during the first months of his presidency—his apparent indifference to the subject of slavery, and unshaken fidelity to the Union, as he found it—was severely criticised in the columns of the *Liberator*. The criticism was, however, just and discriminating, and Garrison was, on the whole, far more satisfied with the aspect of affairs at the outbreak of the war than some of his co-workers.

In April, 1861, he wrote :—

" Now that civil war has begun, and a whirlwind of violence and excitement is to sweep through the country, every day increasing in intensity until its bloodiest culmination, it is for the Abolitionist to ' stand still and see the salvation of God,' rather than to attempt to add anything to the general commotion. It is no time for minute criticism of Lincoln, Republicanism, or even the other parties, now that they are fusing for a death-grapple with the Southern slave oligarchy ; for they are instruments in the hands of God to carry forward and help achieve the great object of emancipation for which we have so long been striving " (vol. iv., p. 21).

To those who asked him, " What of your peace principles now ? " he replied :—

" This question is exultingly put to the friends of peace and non-resistance by those whose military

ardour is now at a white heat, as though it could not be satisfactorily answered, and deserved nothing but ridicule. Our reply to it is, that the peace principles are as beneficent and glorious as ever, and are neither disproved nor modified by anything now transpiring in the country, of a warlike nature. If they had been long since embraced and carried out by the people, neither slavery nor war would now be filling the land with violence and blood. Where they prevail, no man is in danger of life or liberty ; where they are rejected, and precisely to the extent they are rejected, neither life nor liberty is secure. How their violation, under any circumstances, is better than a faithful adherence to them, we have not the moral vision to perceive. They are to be held responsible for nothing which they do not legitimately produce or sanction. As they neither produce nor sanction any oppression or wrong-doing, but elevate the character, control the passions, and lead to the performance of all good offices, they are not to be discarded for those of a hostile character . . .

“ But are we not giving our sympathies to the Government as against the secession movement ? Certainly—because, as between the combatants, there is no wrong or injustice on the side of the Government, while there is nothing but violence, robbery, confiscation, perfidy, lynch law, usurpation, and a most diabolical purpose, on the side of the secessionists. The weapons resorted to on both sides are the same ; yet it is impossible not to wish success to the innocent, and defeat to the guilty party. But, in so doing, we do not compromise either our Anti-slavery or our peace principles. On the contrary, we wish all the North were able to adopt those principles, understandingly, heartily and without delay ; but, according to the structure of the human mind, in the whirl-

wind of the present deadly conflict this is impracticable. As, therefore, Paul said to the Jews who would not accept the new dispensation 'Ye that are under the Law, do ye not hear the Law? Cursed is everyone that continueth not in all things written in the book of the law to do them,'—so we measure those who, rejecting the doctrine of non-resistance, profess to believe in the right and duty of maintaining their freedom by the sword. The worst thing they can do is to be recreant to their own convictions in such a crisis as this.

"But this is, obviously, not the time to expect a dispassionate hearing on this subject. After the wind, the earthquake, and the fire, comes the still small voice. The war must go on to its consummation; and among the salutary lessons it will teach will be the impossibility of oppressing the poor and needy, or consenting thereto, by entering into a 'covenant of death,' without desolating judgments following in its train" (vol. iv., pp. 25, 26).

Mr. Garrison found many of his Quaker friends deeply troubled by the fact that their sons, whom they had supposed firmly grounded in the peace principles of their Society, had been among the earliest to catch the infection of patriotic fervour, and enlist in the army, and there was scarcely a household from which one or more of the young men had not gone forth to the conflict.

"I told them," he said, with his usual cheerful philosophy, "that however much they might regret that their sons could not meet the test when it was applied, they should at least rejoice that the boys were true to their real convictions when the shot at Sumter revealed to them that they were simply birthright Quakers, and had not fully comprehended and absorbed the principles of their fathers. They had imagined they were on

the plane of the Sermon on the Mount, and they found they were only up to the level of Lexington and Bunker Hill; but they should be honored none the less for their loyalty to truth and freedom" (vol. iv., p. 37).

Garrison's views on this subject were subsequently put to the test by the conduct of his own eldest son. When, in 1863, he was offered a commission in a coloured regiment, recruited and drilled by the State of Massachusetts, he joyfully embraced this opportunity of serving the cause he loved.

"Though I could have wished," wrote the father, "that you had been able understandingly and truly to adopt those principles of peace which are so sacred and divine to my own soul, yet you will bear me witness that I have not laid a straw in your way to prevent your acting up to your own highest convictions of duty; for nothing would be gained, but much lost, to have you violate these. Still I tenderly hope that you will once more seriously review the whole matter before making the irrevocable decision" (vol. iv., p. 80). And three months later, when George Thompson Garrison had marched South with his regiment, his father wrote :—

"Not a day has passed, that we have not had you in our liveliest remembrance. I miss you by my side at the table, and at the printing office, and cannot get reconciled to the separation. Yet I have nothing but praise to give you that you have been faithful to your highest convictions, and taking your life in your hands, are willing to lay it down, even like the brave Colonel Shaw, and his associates, if need be, in the cause of freedom, and for the suppression of slavery and rebellion. True, I could have wished you could ascend to what I believe a higher plane of moral heroism and a

nobler method of self-sacrifice ; but as you are true to yourself, I am glad of your fidelity and proud of your willingness to run any risk in a cause that is undeniably just and good. I have no fear that you will be found wanting at any time in the trial hour, or in the discharge of your official duties" (vol. iv., pp. 83, 84).

As the war progressed, Wendell Phillips and other Abolitionist leaders took such a sombre view of the prospect, that Garrison was led to express himself in terms even more joyful than one might have expected from a "peace man."

"What have we to rejoice over?" he exclaimed. "Why, I say the war! 'What! this fratricidal war? What! this civil war? What! this treasonable dismemberment of the Union?' Yes, thank God for it all!—for it indicates the waning power of slavery and the irresistible growth of freedom, and that the day of Northern submission is passed. It is better that we should be so virtuous that the vicious cannot live with us, than to be so vile that they can endure and relish our company" (vol. iv., p. 43).

The question of compulsory military service, in relation to non-resistants and Abolitionists generally, was discussed at length in the *Liberator*. The editor "maintained that the former (only a handful really) who consistently refrained from voting or taking any part in politics and government on conscientious grounds, ought to be exempt from its operation, but that all professed peace men (including the Quakers) who voted, and by their votes elected as their agent a President and members of Congress, bound by their oaths to defend Government by military and naval force if necessary, had no just claim to exemption." In some states, the Quakers were by law free from all military liabilities, on account of their peace

principles, but this, he protested, was "conceding to a sect what belongs to conscience irrespective of sect," and so was manifestly unjust. "For he who believes in total abstinence from war as a Christian duty, though a member of no religious body, ought to have the same toleration as though he wore a Quaker dress and belonged to a Quaker Society" (vol. iv., pp. 58, 59).

"Such," he wrote, "as wholly abstain from voting to uphold the Constitution because of its war provisions, and thus religiously exclude themselves from all share in what are deemed official honours and emoluments, ought not to be drafted in time of war, or compelled to pay an equivalent, or go to prison for disobedience. If conscience is to be respected and provided for in any case, it is in theirs . . .

"It can hardly be asked by any non-resistant, 'How, if drafted, about hiring a substitute?' because what we do by another as our agent or representative we do ourselves. To hire a substitute is, as a matter of principle, precisely the same as to go to the battle-field in person.

"'But if the alternative be to pay a stipulated sum to the government, or else be imprisoned or shot, may we pay the fine?' That is a matter for the individual conscience to decide. Speaking personally, we see no violation of non-resistance principles in paying the money; because it is a choice presented between different forms of suffering, and 'other things being equal,' it will be natural to wish to avoid as much of it as the case will admit. Thus, a highwayman, placing a pistol to our head, demands, in our helplessness, 'Your money or your life!' To part with the money is certainly more reasonable than to part with life; nor, in yielding it, do we give any sanction to the demand. But, if the highwayman should say,

'Your money, and *acknowledgment of my right to extort it, or your life,*' then there would be no alternative but to die, or else prove recreant to truth and honesty.

"But," it may be said, 'though I should refuse to hire a substitute, yet, if I pay the price demanded, will not the government take the money and apply it for that purpose? and is there any essential moral difference here?' We think there is. In hiring a substitute yourself, you actively sustain the war, and become an armed participant in it, and so violate the principles which you profess to revere. In paying a tax, you passively submit to the exaction, which, in itself, commits no violence upon others, but is only a transfer of so much property to other hands. If, then, the government shall proceed to apply it to war purposes the responsibility will rest with the government, not with you. This is the light in which we regard it; still we offer no other suggestion than this—'Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind'; we shall honour none the less him who may feel it his duty to take the most afflicting alternative, as the most effectual method to meet the issue before the community, of that he must be the judge; and especially must he be sure to count the cost and act intelligently" (vol. iv., pp. 59, 60, 61).

Very trying, during the war, must have been the position of George Thompson, who, understanding the American Constitution better, perhaps, than any other Englishman, did his utmost to enlighten public opinion in this country. To Garrison he wrote, shortly before the issue of the Proclamation of Emancipation created a revolution in public sentiment:—

"You know how impossible it is at the present moment to vindicate, as one would wish, the course of Mr. Lincoln. In no one of his utterances is

there an assertion of a great principle—no appeal to right or justice. In everything he does or says, affecting the slave, there is the alloy of expediency, the slave may be free—if it should be ‘necessary,’ or ‘convenient,’ or ‘agreeable to his master.’ What we want to see him do is, to take his stand upon the doctrine of human equality and man’s inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. All else is paltering with conscience and truth” (vol. iv., p. 68).

The Proclamation, of January, 1863, was, of course, the signal for an outburst of rejoicing from the anti-slavery ranks,—and, henceforth, the President had in William Lloyd Garrison a faithful supporter. In an interview which took place between them shortly before President Lincoln’s re-election—when Wendell Phillips and his sympathisers were strenuously opposing the continuance of his term of office, Garrison said :—

“Mr. Lincoln, I want to tell you frankly that for every word I have spoken in your favour, I have spoken ten in favour of General Frémont,” and he went on to explain how difficult he had found it to commend the President when the latter was revoking the proclamations of Frémont and Hunter, and reiterating his purpose to save the Union if he could, without destroying slavery. “But, Mr. President,” he continued, “from the hour that you issued the Emancipation Proclamation, and showed your purpose to stand by it, I have given you my hearty support and confidence” (vol. iv., p. 117).

In this year, 1864, George Thompson paid his third and last visit to America, where a very different reception awaited him to that accorded on former occasions. Public men, including the President, now welcomed him as one of the few Englishmen who had waited with patient and under-

standing tolerance the slow development of the work of emancipation.

The passing, in 1865, of the thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution, forever abolishing slavery in the United States, called forth a still greater outburst of rejoicing among the friends of liberty. At a Jubilee meeting held in Boston, Garrison was naturally the speaker of the evening, and everywhere throughout the North, the once despised and persecuted editor was now honored and consulted.

Still the war continued, until the downfall of Richmond in April, 1865. A few days later, Garrison received an invitation from the Secretary of War, to be present as the guest of the Government at the ceremony of raising the Stars and Stripes on Fort Sumter, on the fourth anniversary of the surrender of the Fort and the commencement of the war. George Thompson was also invited to attend the ceremony.

Scenes sad and touching as well as joyous and exultant were witnessed during this visit. The liberated slaves flocked in crowds to testify their gratitude to their deliverers, showering flowers upon them—some even bringing humble gifts of fruit and cakes. One of these scenes is thus described by an eye witness:—

“Later in the morning I entered a vast building which is known as Zion’s Church, and which is used by the coloured people as their principal place of worship. It was crowded with an immense audience of three or four thousand blacks . . . Garrison was standing in the pulpit, receiving an address from a liberated slave who stood below. The negro spoke in behalf of the emancipated thousands who surrounded him, and in words of thrilling eloquence extended a joyful welcome to their distinguished visitor and friend. They

all recognised in him the leader of the great movement which had broken their chains. Pointing to two little girls near by, who were neatly dressed, and were holding beautiful bouquets in their hands, the freedman said, in most pathetic and impassioned tones, that but a brief time before, he had no power to claim them as his own, although they were bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh. 'Now, sir,' he continued, 'through your labours and those of your noble coadjutors, they are mine, and no man can take them from me. Accept these flowers as a token of our gratitude and love, and take them with you to your home, and keep them as a simple offering from those for whom you have done so much.'

"The little girls ascended the pulpit stairs and presented their flowers to Mr. Garrison, who made a most fitting and touching reply. It seemed to me that it must have been the proudest moment in the reformer's life" (vol. iv., pp. 144, 145).

But most pathetic of all was the scene witnessed by Garrison at the camp, three miles out of Charleston, where he visited his soldier son. Twelve hundred plantation slaves, who had just been conveyed from the interior, were there assembled. These presented a spectacle of misery and degradation never before witnessed by their benefactor. Their crushed and hopeless condition was evidenced by the fact that, when, before leaving the camp, Garrison proposed that they should give three cheers for freedom, the poor creatures made no response, merely gazing at him in wonder. They did not know how to cheer.

This triumphant visit to the south was suddenly cut short by the news of President Lincoln's assassination. All rejoicing was at an end, and sad and anxious, the pleasure party hastened home.

CHAPTER X

SLAVERY being now legally abolished, Garrison announced that the publication of the *Liberator* would cease with the current year. He also suggested that the American Anti-Slavery Society, having accomplished its self-imposed task, should dissolve. To this, however, many of the Abolitionists objected that, until the ratification of the amendment of the Constitution, the liberty of the negroes was not secured. They also contended that, until the negro was fully enfranchised the work of the Society was not complete.

Garrison in reply, after denying the charge that he had "fallen behind," and was about to desert the slave in his hour of need, claimed the right to interpret the Declaration of the Society, which he had himself drawn up. "This Society," he said, "is the 'American *Anti-Slavery Society*.' That was the object. The thought never entered my mind then, nor has it at any time since, that when slavery had received its death wound, there would be any disposition or occasion to continue the Anti-Slavery Society a moment longer. But, of course, in looking over the country, we saw the free coloured people more or less labouring under disabilities and suffering from injustice, and we declared that, incidentally, we did not mean to overlook them, but should vindicate their rights and endeavour to get justice done them. The point is here. We organised expressly for the abolition of

slavery; we called our Society an *Anti-Slavery* Society. The other work was incidental. Now, I believe that slavery is abolished in this country; abolished constitutionally; abolished by a decree of this nation, never, never to be reversed; and, therefore, that it is ludicrous for us, a mere handful of people, with little means, with no agents in the field, no longer separate, and swallowed up in the great ocean of popular feeling against slavery, to assume that we are of especial importance, and that we ought not to dissolve our association under such circumstances, lest the nation should go to ruin! I will not be guilty of any such absurdity" (vol. iv., pp. 158, 159).

And again during the debate:—

"My friends, let us no longer affect superiority when we are not superior—let us not assume to be better than other people when we are not any better. When they are reiterating all we say, and disposed to do all that we wish to see done, what more can we ask? And yet I know the desire to keep together, because of past memories and labours, is a very natural one. But let us challenge and command the respect of the nation, and of the friends of freedom throughout the world, by a wise and sensible conclusion. Of course, we are not to cease labouring in regard to whatever remains to be done; but let us work with the millions and not exclusively as the American Anti-slavery Society" (vol. iv., p. 160).

The majority being in favour of the continuance of the Society, Garrison and those who agreed with him, retired, and Wendell Phillips was elected President in his place.

It need hardly be said that Garrison was as active as any in his efforts to procure for the coloured race equal rights in every respect; nevertheless he persisted in his intention of bringing the *Libera-*

tor to a close at the end of the year 1865, after an existence of thirty-five years. Before that time arrived, the Ratification of the Amendment secured beyond all question the final abolition of slavery in America. The editor had, therefore, the joy of himself setting up in type the Proclamation, for the insertion in the last issue but one of the *Liberator*. In concluding his valedictory in the final number, the editor thus expressed his intentions as to the future :—

“ As yet, I have neither asked nor wished to be relieved of any burdens or labours connected with the good old cause. I see a mighty work of enlightenment and regeneration yet to be accomplished at the South, and many cruel wrongs done to the freedmen which are yet to be redressed ; and I neither counsel others to turn away from the field of conflict under the delusion that no more remains to be done, nor contemplate such a course in my own case. The object for which the *Liberator* was commenced—the extermination of chattel-slavery—having been gloriously consummated, it seems to me specially appropriate to let its existence cover the historic period of the great struggle ; leaving what remains to be done to complete the work of emancipation to other instrumentalities (of which I hope to avail myself), under new auspices, with more abundant means, and with millions instead of hundreds for allies ” (vol. iv., p. 173).

It was, however, not without a pang of regret that Garrison discontinued the work upon which he had been engaged for so many years. The old habits and associations were strong, and this sudden breaking off of the old routine made him feel, as he expressed it, “ like a hen plucked of her feathers.”

Moreover, with his editorial work he relinquished his only regular means of livelihood, meagre as that had always been. This difficulty,—no inconsider-

able one considering the age and infirmities of both Garrison and his wife—was met by a national testimonial, set on foot by some of Garrison's more devoted friends. After two years of strenuous effort, they succeeded in collecting a sum of 31,000 dollars, to which men of almost every class and shade of opinion contributed, including some English admirers.

The great work he had set himself to do, thus happily accomplished, Garrison determined once more to visit his friends on this side of the Atlantic. After four weeks spent in Paris, in the company of his son and daughter, he came to London, where he was warmly welcomed by many old friends.

Not content with manifesting their sympathy and admiration by the cordiality of their private receptions, Garrison's English sympathisers held in his honour a public breakfast, at St. James's Hall. John Bright presided, and many distinguished men and women—including the Duke and Duchess of Argyll, Earl Russell, John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, Professors Huxley and Fawcett, Frederic Harrison, William Black and Justin McCarthy—were present.

John Bright's opening address is said to have been the most beautiful and impressive ever delivered by him, and many fine speeches followed.

Earl Russell took this opportunity of acknowledging the injustice he had ignorantly done to President Lincoln during the war, and J. S. Mill drew some valuable lessons from the life labour of their guest.

From Garrison's speech acknowledging the address of welcome, we extract the following :—

"Henceforth, through all coming time, advocates of justice and friends of reform, be not discouraged; for you will, and you must succeed, if you have a righteous cause. No matter at the

outset how few may be disposed to rally round the standard you have raised—if you battle unflinchingly and without compromise—if yours be a faith that cannot be shaken, because it is linked to the Eternal Throne—it is only a question of time when victory shall come to reward your toils. Seemingly, no system of iniquity was ever more strongly intrenched, or more sure and absolute in its sway, than that of American slavery; yet it perished.

‘In the earthquake God has spoken :
He has smitten with His thunder
The iron walls asunder,
And the gates of brass are broken.’

So it has been, so it is, and so it ever will be throughout the earth, in every conflict for the right ” (vol. iv., p. 215).

Several weeks were spent in visiting different parts of England and Scotland, during which time Garrison met many sympathetic friends. Perhaps there was none among these kindred spirits towards whom he felt more drawn than Mazzini, for whom he experienced the greatest love and admiration.

Paris was again visited, then Switzerland, and, after another brief stay in England, Garrison returned to America, after an absence of five months.

Urged by some of his Abolitionist friends to write a history of the Anti-slavery movement, he made a serious effort, on his return, to begin this formidable task—but more congenial work soon diverted his thoughts, and absorbed his time and energies.

The New York Independent invited him to become a regular paid contributor, with liberty to select his own subjects, and to write as often as he chose, and, as the paper had a circulation of 60,000,

this offer afforded a splendid opportunity of disseminating his views on the many important subjects in which he was interested.

During the next seven or eight years a hundred articles, bearing Garrison's name, appeared in the paper.

Naturally all efforts to improve the condition of the freedmen claimed his sympathy and support, and politics acquired an additional interest on account of their influence on the recently emancipated race.

Free trade formed the subject of several powerful articles and speeches, and Women's Rights still claimed a large share of his interest.

The splendid work then being done by Mrs. Josephine Butler, and other Englishwomen, for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, elicited an article full of burning indignation at the iniquity of the Acts. Of these reformers, Garrison wrote :—

“ To her, and to them all, I desire thus publicly to pay my homage ; regretting that I can find no words adequately to express my admiration of the moral courage they have displayed, the intellectual and moral force they have brought into the field, the masterly ability with which they have conducted the argument, the noble dignity of character which they have exemplified under the vilest provocation, and the exalted purity of sentiment to which they have given utterance. They have helped to make the present age illustrious, and deserve the plaudits of mankind. Had they been represented in the British Parliament, no such infamous Acts could have been passed or proposed. Such legislation is possible only where women are excluded ; and it furnishes another potential argument for their political enfranchisement to the full extent enjoyed by men ” (vol iv., p. 248).

The subject of Peace and Non-resistance inter-

ested Garrison no less than of old, and he engaged in a successful campaign against compulsory military drill in the public schools of Massachusetts. The following story shows what a powerful influence he was able to exert in favour of peace principles :—

“One day, in the fall of 1875, he received a call from a young Japanese student of Boston University, who had been sent to the United States by his government with the ultimate view of obtaining a military and naval education. A perusal of Charles Sumner’s oration on the ‘True Grandeur of Nations,’ had first caused the youth to reflect on the nature of war and the military profession, and he now came to hear what Mr. Garrison had to say on the subject. To the two enthusiastic young girls—fellow students—who accompanied and introduced him, the rapt expression of his face, as he listened to a kind and impressive statement of the underlying principles of peace and non-resistance, remains a vivid and memorable picture. ‘Mr. Garrison’s words did more harm to my military pride and inclination than ever the “True Grandeur of Nations,”’ he said to them as they left the house. Returning to Japan, he informed his government that his conscience forbade him to enter upon a military career, and was promptly cast into prison for his contumacy; but he unflinchingly adhered to his resolution. He was released after a time, and degraded to a position which gave him a scanty subsistence; but, when last heard from, he was still true to his principles” (vol. iv., p. 247).

In January, 1876, Garrison sustained a great loss in the death of his wife, and during the year his health became so impaired that next spring his friends persuaded him to try the effect of another visit to Europe. Three months were

pleasantly spent in England and Scotland, and good work was done—especially in the cause of National purity.

The first person whom Garrison sought on his arrival in Liverpool was Mrs. Josephine Butler, and she and her co-workers were greatly encouraged and strengthened by his whole-hearted sympathy and support. While in London he took a prominent part in a general conference of the various associations for procuring the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts. Invited by the president to address the meeting, he said :—

“ I have heard of your doings when on the other side of the Atlantic, and my heart went out to you. I felt myself one with you in spirit, one with you in your aim. I often said,—you did not hear me, but I said it in my heart many times,—with my heart’s voice, I said, ‘ God bless the noble men and women now striving to cleanse the land of England of the foul pollution implied by such atrocious laws as they are working to abolish.’ Your cause is righteous. This question of pollution—What ! not to be confronted ! Not to be talked about ! Men and women to be separate when they talk about it ! Why separate ? If they are virtuous, shall they not speak of that which is not virtuous and denounce it in common ? It struck me as rather singular when I heard . . . of certain gentlemen so exceedingly virtuous, so exceedingly afraid of anything indelicate in the presence of ladies, that they cannot discuss this matter . . . I have no respect for virtue which will not have pollution brought forward into the very light of the sun, so that, being seen, it may be abhorred and for ever put away. And this is not a matter of statistics. Your government sanctions pollution ; and you say pollution is not to be sanctioned. You are bound to confront it as a great immorality and

impiety against God ; statistics cannot but show (if they are correctly compiled) that immorality does and will work evil in every direction. For God does not make it possible that that which in itself is immoral and iniquitous shall be good anyhow, at any time, or under any circumstances. And thus it is that I would have you take up this matter, and press it home . . . It invigorates and strengthens us to work in a righteous but unpopular cause ; it teaches us to know ourselves, to know what it is we are relying on—whether we love the praise of men or the praise of God. As for me, I think I should not know how to take part in a popular movement—it would seem so weakening, so enervating. Everybody is there, and there is nothing to be done, excepting to shout. Let others do that if they like ; but while this world remains as it is, while so much has yet to be *done* to make the world better, God grant that while I live I may be connected still, as far as possible, with causes which, being righteous, are unpopular and struggling, in God's name, *against* wind and tide. Living and dying I will give my support to such, and look to God for His blessing in the end ” (vol. iv., pp. 276, 277, 278).

The inhuman cruelties still perpetrated in the South, and the disfranchised and down-trodden condition of the coloured population evoked the continued activity of their life-long friend.

Two more years spent in the service of mankind—speaking and writing in the cause of justice and righteousness—and then the change came. In May, 1879, this true champion of Human Rights passed peacefully away.

His last public utterance was a plea for the enfranchisement of women ; and, within three months of his death, he protested, with all his old power, against an unrighteous attempt to pass—

for party purposes—a Bill restricting Chinese emigration, in defiance of existing treaty obligations.

The concluding words of his article on this subject are so characteristic, and inculcate principles of such universal application and importance that they may fitly serve to close this brief account of Garrison's life and labours.

“ Mr. Blaine shows that he is not sincere—if that is too harsh a term, certainly not consistent—in basing his opposition to the treaty on the ground that we are having, or at least have had, under it, nothing but a profligate cunningly devised coolie immigration from China. What he wants is virtual non-intercourse with that country. It is not simply a lot of degraded Chinese—duped and enthralled by contract—that he objects to; he despises the entire population of the Celestial Kingdom, and (oh, foolish pride !) vaunts himself on the superiority of his own stock ! He says : ‘ California is capable of maintaining a vast population of Anglo-Saxon freemen, if we do not surrender it to Chinese coolies.’ Again : ‘ The only question we have to regard is, whether on the whole we will devote that interesting and important section of the United States to be the home and the refuge of our own people and our own blood, or whether we will continue to leave it open, not to the competition of other nations like ourselves, (a sop to Irishmen, Germans, etc.), but to those who, degraded themselves, will inevitably degrade us.’ There is nothing reasonable or manly, or even plausible, in this ; it is narrow, conceited, selfish, anti-human, anti-Christian.

“ Against this hateful spirit of caste I have earnestly protested for the last fifty years, wherever it has developed itself, especially in the case of another class, for many generations still more contemned, degraded and oppressed ; and the time

has fully come to deal with it as an offence to God, and a curse to the world wherever it seeks to bear sway. The Chinese are our fellow men, and are entitled to every consideration that our common humanity may justly claim. In numbers they constitute one-third of mankind. Of existing kingdoms theirs is the oldest, the most peaceable, and apparently the most stable. Education is widely diffused among them, and they are a remarkably ingenious, industrious, thrifty and well-behaved people. Such of them as are seeking to better their condition—being among the poorer classes—by coming to these shores, we should receive with hospitality and kindness. If properly treated, they cannot fail to be serviceable to ourselves or to improve their own condition. It is for them to determine what they shall eat, what they shall drink, and wherewithal they shall be clothed; to adhere to their own customs and follow their own tastes as they shall choose; to make their own contracts and maintain their own rights; to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, or their ideas of religious duty. Such of them as may be in a filthy or squalid state we must endeavour to assist to a higher plane; and if we would see them become converts to Christianity, we must show them its purifying and elevating power by our dealings with them. To assert that they are incapable of being converted is as much at variance with facts as to limit the saving power of our religion to those of 'our own blood,' as Mr. Blaine egotistically terms it. The same assertion was formerly made in disparagement of our coloured population. But it was false in their case, and it is not less false in the other.

"It is pitiable to see how determined Mr. Blaine is to depict the Chinese immigrants as so utterly vile

in their habits and morals as to be incapable of reformation, and too loathsome to be endured. He knows that there is a large portion of them who are neat in their persons, courteous in their deportment, excellent in character, and worthy in an eminent degree, but he makes no exceptions. And if there were none to be made, still the Christian obligation would rest upon us to try to extricate them from the miry pit, to the extent of the means that we happily possess. Evidently no such thought enters into the mind of Mr. Blaine, and he would leave them to their miserable fate as unconcernedly as though they belonged to the brute creation. And as the climax of his speech, and also of his assurance, he declares: 'We have this day to choose whether we will have for the Pacific Coast the civilisation of Christ or the civilisation of Confucius.' Has he forgotten that, long before the advent of Christ, it was from the lips of Confucius came that golden rule which we are taught in the Gospel to follow as the rule of life in all our dealings with our fellow men, and which, carried into practice, will ensure peace, happiness, and prosperity not only to the dwellers on the Pacific Coast, but to all peoples on the face of the whole earth?

"This is not a personal controversy with Mr. Blaine, but a plea for human brotherhood as against all caste assumptions and clannish distinctions; and I take leave of him, earnestly hoping that he may be led to see and regret the great mistake of his public career" (vol. iv., pp. 298, 299, 300).

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